HOUSE IN WHICH ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS BORN

Three miles from Hodgensville, La Rue County, Kentucky Thomas Lincoln moved into this cabin in 1808. Here, on Feb. 12, 1809, Abraham Lincoln was born. It was long ago torn down, but the logs were saved, and recently the property was bought by New York people who rebuilt the old cabin on the original site.

See Page 14.

THE LIFE OF
ABRAHAM
LINCOLN

DRAWN FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES AND CONTAINING MANY SPEECHES, LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED

BY

IDA M. TARBELL

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LIFE OF LINCOLN

CHAPTER XXII

THE FIRST INAUGURATION OF LINCOLN—THE RELIEF OF FORT SUMTER—SEWARD'S AMBITION TO CONTROL THE ADMINISTRATION

DAYBREAK of March 4, 1861, found the city of Washington astir. The Senate, which had met at seven o'clock the night before, was still in session; scores of persons who had come to see the inauguration of the first Republican President, and who had been unable to find other bed than the floor, were walking the streets; the morning trains were bringing new crowds. Added to the stir of those who had not slept through the night were sounds unusual in Washington—the clatter of cavalry, the tramp of soldiers.

All this morning bustle of the city must have reached the ears of the President-elect, at his rooms in Willard's Hotel, where from an early hour he had been at work. An amendment to the Constitution of the United States had passed the Senate in the all-night session, and as it concerned the subject of his inaugural, he must incorporate a reference to it in the address. Then he had not replied to the note he had received two days before from Mr. Seward, asking to be released from his promise to accept the portfolio of State. He could wait no longer. "I can't afford," he said to Mr. Nicolay, his secretary, "to let Seward take the first trick." And he despatched the following letter:

My dear Sir: Your note of the 2d instant, asking to withdraw your acceptance of my invitation to take charge of the State Department, was duly received. It is the subject of the most painful solicitude with me, and I feel constrained to beg that you will countermand the withdrawal. The public interest, I think, demands that you should; and my personal feelings are deeply enlisted in the same direction. Please consider and answer by 9 A. M. to-morrow. Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

At noon, Mr. Lincoln's work was interrupted. The President of the United States was announced. Mr. Buchanan had come to escort his successor to the Capitol. The route of the procession was the historic one over which almost every President since Jefferson had travelled to take his oath of office; but the scene Mr. Lincoln looked upon as his carriage rolled up the avenue was very different from that upon which one looks to-day. No great blocks lined the streets; instead, the buildings were low, and there were numerous vacant spaces. Instead of asphalt, the carriage passed over cobblestones. Nor did the present stately and beautiful approach to the Capitol exist. The west front rose abrupt and stiff from an unkept lawn. The great building itself was still uncompleted, and high above his head Mr. Lincoln could see the swinging arm of an enormous crane rising from the unfinished dome.

But, as he drove that morning from Willard's to the Capitol, the President-elect saw far more significant sights than these. Closed about his carriage, "so thickly," complained the newspapers, "as to hide it from view," was a protecting guard. Stationed at intervals along the avenue were platoons of soldiers. At every corner were mounted orderlies. On the very roof-tops were groups of riflemen. When Lincoln reached the north side of the Capitol, where he descended to enter the building, he found a board tunnel,

strongly guarded at its mouth, through which he passed into the building. If he had taken pains to inquire what means had been provided for protecting his life while in the building, he would have been told that squads of riflemen were in each wing; that under the platform from which he was to speak were fifty or sixty armed soldiers; that General Scott and two batteries of flying artillery were in adjacent streets; and that a ring of volunteers encircled the waiting crowd. The thoroughness with which these guards did their work may be judged by the experience which Colonel Clark E. Carr, of Illinois, tells:

"I was only a young man then," says Colonel Carr, "and this was the first inauguration I had ever attended. I came because it was Lincoln's. For three years Lincoln had been my political idol, as he had been that of many young men in the West. The first debate I heard between him and Douglas had converted me from popular sovereignty, and after that I had followed him all over the State, so fascinated was I by his logic, his manner, and his character.

"Well, I went to Washington, but somehow, in the interest of the procession, I failed to get to the Capitol in time to find a place within hearing distance; thousands of people were packed between me and the stand. I did get, however, close to the high double fence which had been built from the driveway to the north door. It suddenly occurred to me that, if I could scale that wall, I might walk right in after the President, perhaps on to the very platform. It wasn't a minute before I 'shinned' up and jumped into the tunnel; but before I lit on my feet, a half dozen soldiers had me by the leg and arms. I suppose they thought I was the agent of the long-talked-of plot to capture Washington and kill Mr. Lincoln. They searched me, and then started me to the mouth of the tunnel, to take me to the guard-house, but the crowd was so thick we couldn't get out. This gave me time, and I finally convinced them that it was really my eagerness to hear Mr. Lincoln, and no evil intent, that had brought me in. When they finally came to that conclusion, they took me

around to one of the basement doors on the east side and let me out. I got a place in front of Mr. Lincoln, and heard every word."

The precautions taken against the long-threatened attack on Lincoln's life produced various impressions on the throng. Opponents scornfully insisted that the new Administration was "scared." Radical Republicans rejoiced. "I was thoroughly convinced at the time," says the Hon. James Harlan, at that time a Senator from Iowa, "that Mr. Lincoln's enemies meant what they said, and that General Scott's determination that the inauguration should go off peaceably prevented any hostile demonstration." Other supporters of Mr. Lincoln felt differently.

"Nothing could have been more ill-advised or more ostentatious," wrote the "Public Man" that night in his "Diary," "than the way in which the troops were thrust everywhere upon the public attention, even to the roofs of the houses on Pennsylvania avenue, on which little squads of sharpshooters were absurdly stationed. I never expected to experience such a sense of mortification and shame in my own country as I felt to-day, in entering the Capitol through hedges of marines armed to the teeth. . . . Fortunately, all passed off well, but it is appalling to think of the mischief which might have been done by a single evil-disposed person to-day. A blank cartridge fired from a window on Pennsylvania avenue might have disconcerted all our hopes, and thrown the whole country into inextricable confusion. That nothing of the sort was done, or even so much as attempted, is the most conclusive evidence that could be asked of the groundlessness of the rumors and old women's tales on the strength of which General Scott has been led into this great mistake."

Arm in arm with Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Lincoln passed

through the long tunnel erected for his protection, entered the Capitol, and passed into the Senate Chamber, filled to overflowing with Senators, members of the Diplomatic Corps, and visitors. The contrast between the two men as they entered struck every observer. "Mr. Buchanan was so withered and bowed with age," wrote George W. Julian, of Indiana, who was among the spectators, "that in contrast with the towering form of Mr. Lincoln he seemed little more than half a man."

A few moments' delay, and the movement from the Senate towards the east front began, the justices of the Supreme Court, in cap and gown, heading the procession. As soon as the large company was seated on the platform erected on the east portico of the Capitol, Mr. Lincoln arose and advanced to the front, where he was introduced by his friend, Senator Baker, of Oregon. He carried a cane and a little roll—the manuscript of his inaugural address. There was a moment's pause after the introduction, as he vainly looked for a spot where he might place his high silk hat. Stephen A. Douglas, the political antagonist of his whole public life, the man who had pressed him hardest in the campaign of 1860, was seated just behind him. Douglas stepped forward quickly, and took the hat which Mr. Lincoln held helplessly in his hand. "If I can't be President," he whispered smilingly to Mrs. Brown, a cousin of Mrs. Lincoln and a member of the President's party, "I at least can hold his hat."

This simple act of courtesy was really the most significant incident of the day, and after the inaugural the most discussed.

"Douglas's conduct can not be overpraised," wrote the "Public Man" in his "Diary." "I saw him for a moment in the morning, when he told me that he meant to put himself as prominently forward in the ceremonies as he properly could, and to leave no doubt on any one's mind of his de-

termination to stand by the new Administration in the performance of its first great duty to maintain the Union."

Adjusting his spectacles and unrolling his manuscript, the President-elect turned his eyes upon the faces of the throng before him. It was the largest gathering that had been seen at any inauguration up to that date, variously estimated at from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand. Who of the men that composed it were his friends, who his enemies, he could not tell; but he did know that almost every one of them was waiting with painful eagerness to hear what answer he would make there to the questions they had been hurling at his head since his election.

Six weeks before, when he wrote the document, he had determined to answer some of their questions. The first of these was, "Will Mr. Lincoln stand by the platform of the Republican party?" He meant to open his address with this reply:

> The [more] modern custom of electing a Chief Magistrate upon a previously declared platform of principles supersedes, in a great measure, the necessity of restating those principles in an address of this sort. Upon the plainest grounds of good faith, one so elected is not at liberty to shift his position. . . . . .
>
> Having been so elected upon the Chicago platform, and while I would repeat nothing in it of aspersion or epithet or question of motive against any man or party, I hold myself bound by duty, as well as impelled by inclination, to follow, within the executive sphere, the principles therein declared. By no other course could I meet the reasonable expectations of the country.

But these paragraphs were not read. On reaching Washington in February, Mr. Lincoln's first act had been to give to Mr. Seward a copy of the paper he had prepared, and to ask for his criticisms. Of the paragraphs quoted above, Mr. Seward wrote:

I declare to you my conviction that the second and third paragraphs, even if modified as I propose in my amendments, will give such advantages to the Disunionists that Virginia and Maryland will secede, and we shall, within ninety, perhaps within sixty, days, be obliged to fight the South for this Capital, with a divided North for our reliance.

Mr. Lincoln dropped the paragraphs, and began by answering another question: "Does the President intend to interfere with the property of the South?"

"Apprehension seems to exist," he said, "among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them."

He followed this conciliatory statement by a full answer to the question, "Will Mr. Lincoln repeal the fugitive slave laws?"

"There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

"'No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

"It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended

by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause 'shall be delivered up,' their oaths are unanimous."

Next he took up the question of Secession, "Has a State the right to go out of the Union if it wants to?"

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. . . . Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? . . . It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

The answer to this question led him directly to the point on which the public was most deeply stirred at that moment. What did he intend to do about enforcing laws in States which had repudiated Federal authority; what about the property seized by the Southern States?

". . . . to the extent of my ability," he answered, "I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it so far as practicable, un-

less my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

"In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere."

In his original copy of the inaugural address Mr. Lincoln wrote, "All the power at my disposal will be used to *reclaim the public property and places which have fallen;* to hold, occupy, and possess these, and all other property and places belonging to the government." At the suggestion of his friend, the Hon. O. H. Browning, of Illinois, he dropped the words "to reclaim the public property and places which have fallen." Mr. Seward disapproved of the entire selection and prepared a non-committal substitute. Mr. Lincoln, however, retained his own sentences.

The foregoing quotations are a fairly complete expression of what may be called Mr. Lincoln's policy at the beginning of his administration. He followed this statement of his principle by an appeal and a warning to those who really loved the Union and who yet were ready for the "destruction of the national fabric with all its benefits, its memories and its hopes."

"Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? . . . . . .

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. . . . .

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people. . . . . .

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well* upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to HURRY any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take *deliberately,* that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In YOUR hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and

not in MINE is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail YOU. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. YOU have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

With this last paragraph Mr. Lincoln had meant to close this his first address to the nation. Mr. Seward objected, and submitted two suggestions for a closing; one of his paragraphs read as follows:

I close. We are not, we must not be, aliens or enemies, but fellow-countrymen and brethren. Although passion has strained our bonds of affection too hardly, they must not, I am sure they will not be broken. The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battlefields and so many patriotic graves, pass through all the hearts and all hearths in this broad continent of ours, will yet again harmonize in their ancient music when breathed upon by the guardian angel of the nation.

Mr. Lincoln made a few changes in the paragraphs quoted, and rewrote the above suggestion of Mr. Seward, making of it the now famous closing words:*

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

"Mr. Lincoln read his inaugural," says Mr. Harlan in his unpublished "Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," "in

* The reader interested in the first inaugural of Mr. Lincoln should not fail to read the admirable chapter on the subject in Vol. III. of Nicolay and Hay's Life of Abraham Lincoln, where Mr. Seward's criticisms are given in full.

a clear, distinct, and musical voice, which seemed to be heard and distinctly understood to the very outskirts of this vast concourse of his fellow-citizens. At its conclusion, he turned partially around on his left, facing the justices of the Supreme Court, and said, 'I am now ready to take the oath prescribed by the Constitution,' which was then administered by Chief Justice Taney, the President saluting the Bible with his lips.

"At that moment, in response to a signal, batteries of field guns, stationed a mile or so away, commenced firing a national salute, in honor of the nation's new chief. And Mr. Buchanan, now a private citizen, escorted President Lincoln to the Executive Mansion, followed by a multitude of people."

"What do you think of it?" was the question this crowd was asking as it left the scene of the inauguration. Throughout the day, on every corner of Washington, and by night on every corner of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Buffalo, and every other city and town of the country reached by the telegraph, men were asking the same question. The answers showed that the address was not the equivocal document Mr. Seward had tried to make it.

"It is marked," said the New York "Tribune" of March 5, "by no feeble expression. 'He who runs may read' it; and to twenty millions of people it will carry the tidings, good or not, as the case may be, that the Federal Government of the United States is still in existence, with a Man at the head of it."

"The inaugural is not a crude performance," said the New York "Herald;" "it abounds in traits of craft and cunning; it is neither candid nor statesmanlike, nor does it possess any essential of dignity or patriotism. It would have caused a Washington to mourn, and would have inspired Jefferson, Madison, or Jackson with contempt."

"Our community has not been disappointed, and exhibited

very little feeling on the subject," telegraphed Charleston, South Carolina. "They are content to leave Mr. Lincoln and the inaugural in the hands of Jefferson Davis and the Congress of the Confederate States."

"The Pennsylvanian" declared it "a tiger's claw concealed under the fur of Sewardism." While "The Atlas and Argus," of Albany, characterized it as "weak, rambling, loose-jointed," and as "inviting civil war."

From Charleston, South Carolina, came the dispatch, "Our community has not been disappointed, and exhibited very little feeling on the subject. They are content to leave Mr. Lincoln and the inaugural in the hands of Jefferson Davis and the Congress of the Confederate States." In New Orleans the assertion that the ordinance was void and that Federal property must be taken and held was considered a declaration of war. At Montgomery the head of the Confederacy, the universal feeling provoked by the inaugural was that war was inevitable.

The literary form of the document aroused general comment.

"The style of the address is as characteristic as its temper," said the Boston "Transcript." "It has not one fawning expression in the whole course of its firm and explicit statements. The language is level to the popular mind—the plain, homespun language of a man accustomed to talk with 'the folks' and 'the neighbors;' the language of a man of vital common-sense, whose words exactly fit in his facts and thoughts."

This "homespun language" was a shock to many. The Toronto "Globe" found the address of "a tawdry, corrupt, school-boy style." And ex-President Tyler complained to Francis Lieber of its grammar. Lieber replied:

"You complain of the bad grammar of President Lincoln's message. We have to look at other things, just now,

than grammar. For aught I know, the last resolution of the South Carolina Convention may have been worded in sufficiently good grammar, but it is an attempt, unique in its disgracefulness, to whitewash an act of the dirtiest infamy. Let us leave grammar alone in these days of shame, and rather ask whether people act according to the first and simplest rules of morals and of honor."

The question which most deeply stirred the country, however, was "Does Lincoln mean what he says? Will he really use the power confided to him to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government?" The President was called upon for an answer sooner than he had expected. Almost the first thing brought to his attention on the morning of his first full day in office (March 5) was a letter from Major Robert Anderson, the officer in command of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, saying that he had but a week's provisions, and that if the place was to be re-enforced so that it could be held, it would take 20,000 "good and well-disciplined men" to do it.

A graver matter the new President could not have been called upon to decide, for all the issues between North and South were at that moment focused in the fate of Fort Sumter. A series of dramatic incidents had given the fort this peculiar prominence. At the time of Mr. Lincoln's election Charleston Harbor was commanded by Major Anderson. Although there were three forts in the harbor, but one was garrisoned, Fort Moultrie, and that not the strongest in position. Not long after the election Anderson, himself a Southerner, thoroughly familiar with the feeling in Charleston, wrote the War Department that if the harbor was to be held by the United States, Fort Sumter and Castle Pinckey must be garrisoned. Later he repeated this warning. President Buchanan was loath to heed him. He feared irritating the South Carolinians. Instead of re-enforcements he sent An-

derson orders to hold the forts but to do nothing which would cause a collision. At the same time he entered into a half-contract with the South Carolina Congressmen not to re-enforce Anderson if the State did not attack him. All through the early winter Anderson remained in Moultrie, his position constantly becoming more dangerous. Interest in him increased with his peril, and the discussion as to whether the government should relieve, recall, or let him alone, waxed more and more excited.

Anderson had seen from the first that if the South Carolinians attempted to seize Moultrie he could not sustain his position. Accordingly, on the night of December 26 he spiked the guns of that fort and secretly transferred his force to Sumter, an almost impregnable position in the centre of the harbor. In the South the uproar over this act was terrific. The administration was accused of treachery. It in turn censured Anderson, though he had acted exactly within his orders which gave him the right to occupy whichever fort he thought best. In the North there was an outburst of exultation. It was the first act in defense of United States property, and Anderson became at once a popular hero and re-enforcements for him were vehemently demanded.

Early in January Buchanan yielded to the pressure and sent the *Star of the West* with supplies. The vessel was fired on by the South Carolinians as she entered the harbor, and retired. This hostile act did not quicken the sluggish blood of the administration. Indeed, a quasi-agreement with the Governor followed, that if the fort was not attacked no further attempt would be made to re-enforce it, and there the matter stood when Mr. Lincoln on the morning of March 5 received Anderson's letter.

What was to be done? The garrison must not be allowed to starve; but evidently 20,000 disciplined men could not be had to relieve it—the whole United States army numbered

but 16,000. But if Mr. Lincoln could not relieve it, how could he surrender it? The effect of any weakening or compromise in his own position was perfectly clear to him. "When Anderson goes out of Fort Sumter," he said ruefully, "I shall have to go out of the White House." The exact way in which he looked at the matter he stated later to Congress, in substantially the following words:

To abandon that position, under the circumstances, would have been utterly ruinous; the necessity under which it was done would not have been fully understood; by many it would have been construed as a part of a voluntary policy; at home it would have discouraged the friends of the Union, emboldened its adversaries, and gone far to insure to the latter a recognition abroad; in fact, it would have been our national destruction consummated. This could not be allowed.

In his dilemma he sought the advice of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Scott, who told him sadly that "evacuation seemed almost inevitable."

Unwilling to decide at once, Lincoln devised a manœuvre by which he hoped to shift public attention from Fort Sumter to Fort Pickens, in Pensacola Harbor. The situation of the two forts was similar, although that at Sumter was more critical and interested the public far more intensely. It seemed to Mr. Lincoln that if Fort Pickens could be re-enforced, this would be a clear enough indication to both sections that he meant what he had said in his inaugural address, and after it had been accomplished the North would accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military necessity, and on March 11 he sent an order that troops which had been sent to Pensacola in January by Mr. Buchanan, but never landed, should be placed in Fort Pickens.

As this order went by sea, it was necessarily some time before it arrived. Night and day during this interval Lin-

coln was busy in a series of original investigations of all sides of the Sumter question. While doing his utmost to obtain such information as would enable him to come to an intelligent conclusion, he was beset by both North and South. A report went out early in the month that Sumter was to be evacuated. It could not be verified; but it spread generally until there was, particularly in Washington, around Mr. Lincoln, a fever of excitement. Finally, on March 25, the Senate asked for the correspondence of Anderson. The President did not believe the time had come, however, to take the public into his confidence, and he replied:

> . . . On examination of the correspondence thus called for, I have, with the highest respect for the Senate, come to the conclusion that at the present moment the publication of it would be inexpedient.

Three days later, March 28, while he still was uncertain whether his order had reached Fort Pickens or not, General Scott, who was ill, sent a letter over to the White House, advising Mr. Lincoln to abandon both Sumter and Pickens. Coming from such a source, the letter was a heavy blow to the President. One of the men he most trusted had failed to recognize that the policy he had laid down in his inaugural address was serious and intended to be acted upon. It was time to do something. Summoning an officer from the Navy Department, he asked him to prepare at once a plan for a relief expedition to Fort Sumter. That night Mr. Lincoln gave his first state dinner. It was a large affair, many friends besides the members of the Cabinet being present. The conversation was animated, and Lincoln was seemingly in excellent spirits. W. H. Russell, the correspondent of the London "Times," was present, and he notes in his Diary how Lincoln used anecdotes in his conversation that evening:

"Mr. Bates was remonstrating, apparently, against the appointment of some indifferent lawyer to a place of judicial importance," says Mr. Russell. "The President interposed with, 'Come now, Bates, he's not half as bad as you think. Besides that, I must tell you he did me a good turn long ago. When I took to the law, I was going to court one morning, with some ten or twelve miles of bad road before me, and I had no horse. The judge overtook me in his wagon. 'Hello, Lincoln! Are you not going to the court-house? Come in, and I'll give you a seat.' Well, I got in, and the judge went on reading his papers. Presently the wagon struck a stump on one side of the road; then it hopped off to the other. I looked out, and I saw the driver was jerking from side to side in his seat; so says I, 'Judge, I think your coachman has been taking a little drop too much this morning.' 'Well, I declare, Lincoln,' said he, 'I should not wonder if you are right; for he has nearly upset me half a dozen times since starting.' So putting his head out of the window, he shouted, 'Why, you infernal scoundrel, you are drunk!' Upon which, pulling up his horses, and turning round with great gravity, the coachman said, 'By gorra! that's the first rightful decision you have given for the last twelvemonth.' While the company were laughing, the President beat a quiet retreat from the neighborhood of the Attorney-General."

Lincoln's story-telling that evening was used, as often happened, to cover a serious mental struggle. After many of his guests had retired, he called his Cabinet aside, and agitatedly told them of General Scott's letter. He then asked them to meet him the next day. That night the President did not close his eyes in sleep. The moment had come, as it must come, at one time or another, to every President of the United States, when his vote was the only vote in the Cabinet—the only vote in the country. The decision and orders he should give the next day might plunge the country into civil war. Could he escape it? All night he went over the problem, but his watch only strengthened his purpose.

When the Cabinet met, the President put the case before them in such a light that, on his asking the members to give him their views, only two, Seward and Smith, opposed the relief of Fort Sumter.

That day Lincoln gave his order that the expedition be prepared and ready to sail on April 6. Two days later, he ordered that an expedition for the relief of Fort Pickens be prepared. With the latter order he sent a verbal message to General Scott:

> Tell him that I wish this thing done, and not to let it fail unless he can show that I have refused him something he asked for.

By April 6, news reached Mr. Lincoln from Fort Pickens. The commander of the vessel on which the troops were quartered, acting upon the armistice of Mr. Buchanan, had refused to land the re-enforcements. To relieve Sumter was the only alternative, and Lincoln immediately ordered forward the expeditions he had been preparing. At the same time he wrote with his own hand instructions for an agent whom he sent to Charleston to notify the Governor of South Carolina that an effort would be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only.

At last it was evident to the members of the Cabinet and to others in the secret that Mr. Lincoln did mean what he had said in his inaugural address: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government."

Mr. Lincoln had another matter on hand at the moment as vital as the relief of Sumter—how to prevent further accessions to the Southern Confederacy. When he was inaugurated, seven of the slave-holding States had left the Union. In two others, Virginia and Missouri, conventions were in session considering secession; but in both, Union

sentiment predominated. Three others, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, had by popular vote decided to hold no convention. Maryland had already held an irregular State assembly, but nothing had been accomplished by the separatists. Mr. Lincoln's problem was how to strengthen this surviving Union sentiment sufficiently to prevent secession in case the Administration was forced to relieve Sumter. Evidently he could do nothing at the moment but inform himself as accurately as possible, by correspondence and conferences, of the temper of the people and put himself into relations with men in each State on whom he could rely in case of emergency. He did this with care and persistency, and so effectively that later, when matters became more serious, visitors from the doubtful States often expressed their amazement at the President's knowledge of the sentiments and conditions of their parts of the country.

The first State in which Lincoln attempted any active interference in favor of the Union was one which had already voted itself out, Texas. A conflict had arisen there between the Southern party and the Governor, Sam Houston, and on March 18 the latter had been deposed. When Mr. Lincoln heard of this, he decided to try to get a message to the Governor, offering United States support if he would put himself at the head of the Union party of the State. The messenger who carried this word to Houston was Mr. G. H. Giddings, at that time the holder of the contract for carrying the mails by the El Paso route to California. He was taken to the White House by his friend Postmaster-General Blair, and gives the following account of what occurred at the interview. It is one of the very few descriptions of Mr. Lincoln in a Cabinet meeting which we have:

I was taken into the Cabinet room, and introduced by the Postmaster-General to President Lincoln and all the members of the Cabinet, who were there apparently waiting for

us. The President asked me to take a seat at the big table next to him. He then said to me, "You have been highly recommended to me as a reliable man by the Postmaster-General, the Hon. G. A. Grow, and others. They tell me that you are an old citizen of Texas and about to return to your home. My object in wishing to see you is that I desire to intrust to you a secret message to Governor Houston."

I said, "Yes, Mr. President, I should have left to-night but for this invitation to call on you, which was a great pleasure to me."

He then asked me a great many questions, where I was born, when I went to Texas, what I had been doing there, how I liked the State, and what was the public sentiment in Texas in regard to the prospects of a war—all of which I answered to the best of my ability.

He then said to me that the message was of such importance that, before handing it to me, he would read it to me. Before beginning to read he said, "This is a confidential and secret message. No one besides my Cabinet and myself knows anything about it, and we are all sworn to secrecy. I am going to swear you in as one of my Cabinet." And then he said to me in a jocular way, "Hold up your right hand," which I did. "Now," said he, "consider yourself a member of my Cabinet."

He then read the message, explaining his meaning at times as he was reading it. The message was written in big bold hand, on large sheets of paper, and consisted of several pages. It was signed "A. Lincoln." I cannot give the exact words of the message, but the substance was as follows:

It referred first to the surrender, by General Twiggs, of the United States troops, forts, and property in Texas to the rebels, and offered to appoint Governor Houston a major-general in the United States army in case he would accept. It authorized him to take full command in Texas, taking charge of all Government property and such of the old army as he could get together, and to recruit 100,000 men, if possible, and to hold Texas in the Union. In case he did accept, the President promised to support him with the whole power of the Government, both of the army and navy. After hearing the message read, I suggested to the President that it was

of such importance that perhaps he had better send it by some government official.

"No," he said. "Those Texans would hang any official caught with that paper."

I replied that they would hang me, too, if they caught me with that message.

"I do not wish to have you hung," he replied; "and if you think there is so much danger, I will not ask you to take it, although I am anxious to get it to Governor Houston as soon as possible. As you live in Texas and are about to return, I was in hopes you would take it."

"I will take the message with much pleasure," I replied, "as you personally request it, and will deliver it safely to Governor Houston, only stipulating that it shall remain as one of your Cabinet secrets." This he assured me should be done.

I remained there until about midnight. The question of war or no war was discussed by different members of the Cabinet. Mr. Seward said there would be no war. The President said he hoped and prayed that there would not be a war. I said to Mr. Seward that, as he knew, Congress had extended my overland mail contract one contract term and doubled the service; that to put the increased service in operation would cost me over $50,000, which would be lost in case of war; and I asked him what I had better do.

"There will be no war," Mr. Seward said; "go ahead and put on the increased service. You will run no risk in doing so." He said that Humphrey Marshall and some others, whose names I have forgotten, had left Washington a few days before that, to go into the border States and hold public meetings and ask the South to meet the North and have a National Convention for the purpose of amending the Constitution. He had no doubt, he said, that this would be done, and that, so far as he was individually concerned, he would prefer giving the Southern brothers the parchment and let them enter the amendment to the Constitution to suit themselves rather than have a civil war. He said, in all probability, some arrangements would be made to pay for the slaves and the gradual abolishment of slavery.

With these momentous affairs on hand, Lincoln needed freedom from trivial and personal matters, if ever a President needed it; yet one who reads the documents of the period would infer that his entire time was spent in appointing postmasters. There was no escape for him. The office-seekers had seized Washington, and were making the White House their headquarters.

"There were days," says William O. Stoddard, "when the throng of eager applicants for office filled the broad staircase to its lower steps; the corridors of the first floor; the famous East room; the private parlors; while anxious groups and individuals paraded up and down the outer porch, the walks, and the avenue."

They even attacked Lincoln on the street. One day as his carriage rolled up the avenue, a man stopped it and attempted to present his application and credentials. "No, no," said Mr. Lincoln indignantly, "I won't open shop in the street."

This raid had begun in Springfield with the election. As Mr. Lincoln had been elected without bargains on his part, he did not propose to consider minor appointments until actually inaugurated.

"I have made up my mind," he said to a visitor a few days after his election, "not to be badgered about these places. I have promised nothing high or low, and will not. By-and-by, when I call somebody to me in the character of an adviser, we will examine the claims to the most responsible posts and decide what shall be done. As for the rest, I shall have enough to do without reading recommendations for country postmasters."

All of the hundreds who had been put off in the winter, now reappeared in Washington. Now, Lincoln had clear notions of the use of the appointing power. One side should not gobble up everything, he declared; but in the pressure of

applications, it gave him the greatest difficulty to prevent this "gobbling up." Another rule he had adopted was not to appoint over the heads of his advisers. He preferred to win their consent to an appointment by tact, rather than to make it by his own power. A hint as to point is disclosed in a letter he wrote to General Scott, in June, in which he said:

Doubtless you begin to understand how disagreeable it is for me to do a thing arbitrarily when it is unsatisfactory to others associated with me.

I very much wish to appoint Colonel Meigs Quartermaster-General, and yet General Cameron does not quite consent. I have come to know Colonel Meigs quite well for a short acquaintance, and, so far as I am capable of judging, I do not know one who combines the qualities of mere intellect, learning, and experience of the right sort, and physical power of labor and endurance, so well as he.

I know he has great confidence in you, always speaking, so far as I have observed, your opinions against any differing ones.

You will lay me under one more obligation if you can and will use your influence to remove General Cameron's objection. I scarcely need tell you I have nothing personal in this, having never seen or heard of Colonel Meigs until about the end of last March.

But that he could appoint arbitrarily is certain from the following letter:

. . . You must make a job of it, and provide a place for the bearer of this, Elias Wampole. Make a job of it with the collector and have it done. You can do it for me, and you *must*.

In spite of the terrible pressure brought to bear upon him by the place-hunters; in spite of the frequent dissatisfaction his appointments gave, and the abuse the disappointed heaped upon him, he rarely lost his patience, rarely was anything but

happened before, and never will again; so that it is now or never. What say you?

A less obvious perplexity than the office-seekers for Mr. Lincoln at this period, though a no less real one, was the attitude of his Secretary of State—his cheerful assumption that he, not Mr. Lincoln, was the final authority of the administration.

Mr. Seward had been for years the leader of the Republican party. His defeat in the Chicago Convention of 1860 had been a terrible blow to a large number of people, though Seward himself had taken it nobly. "The Republican party was not made for Mr. Seward," he told his friends, "but Mr. Seward for the Republican party," and he went heartily into the campaign. But he believed, as many Republicans did, that Lincoln was unfit for the presidency, and that some one of his associates would be obliged to assume leadership. When Mr. Seward accepted the Secretaryship of State, he evidently did it with the idea that he was to be the Providence of the administration. "It is inevitable," he wrote to his wife on December 28th, the very day he wrote to Mr. Lincoln of his acceptance. "I will try to save freedom and my country." A week later he wrote home, "I have assumed a sort of dictatorship for defense, and am laboring night and day with the cities and States. My hope, rather my confidence, is unabated." And again, on January 18th; "It seems to me if I am absent only eight days, this administration, the Congress, and the District would fall into consternation and despair. I am the only *hopeful, calm, conciliatory* person here."

When Lincoln arrived in Washington and asked Seward to read the inaugural address, the latter gave it the closest attention, modifying it to fit his own policy, and in defense of the changes he made, he wrote to the President-elect: "Only the soothing words which I have spoken have saved

us and carried us along thus far. Every loyal man, and indeed every disloyal man, in the South will tell you this."

He began his duties as Secretary of State with the same confidence in his call to be the real, if not the apparent, head of affairs. When the question of relieving Sumter came up, he believed that it was he who was managing the matter. "I wish I could tell you something of the political troubles of the country," he wrote home, "but I cannot find the time. They are enough to tax the wisdom of the wisest. Fort Sumter is in danger. Relief of it practically impossible. The commissioners from the Southern Confederacy are here. These cares fall chiefly on me."

According to Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy, "confidence and mutual frankness on public affairs and matters pertaining to the government, particularly on what related to present and threatened disturbances, existed among all the members [of the cabinet], with the exception of Mr. Seward, who had, or affected, a certain mysterious knowledge which he was not prepared to impart." Mr. Welles asserts that Mr. Seward carried so far his assumption of the "cares" of Sumter and other questions as to meddle in the duties of his associates in the cabinet. He opposed regular cabinet meetings, and at first had his way. After Tuesdays and Fridays were set as cabinet days, he contended that it was not necessary that a member should come to the meetings unless especially summoned by Mr. Lincoln or himself.

If Mr. Seward had been less self-confident, he would have seen before the end of March that Mr. Lincoln had a mind of his own, and with it a quiet way of following its decisions. Others had seen this. For instance, he had had his own way about who should go into the cabinet. "There can be no doubt of it any longer," wrote the "Public Ma in his "Diary" on March 2, "this man from Illinois is no

in the hands of Mr. Seward." Then there was the inaugural address—it was *his,* not Mr. Seward's; and more than one prominent newspaper commented with astonishment on that fact.

Nobody knew these facts better than the Secretary of State. He had discovered also that Mr. Lincoln attended to his business. "This President proposes to do all his work," he wrote to Mrs. Seward on March 16. He had received, too, at least one severe lesson, which ought to have shown him that it was Mr. Lincoln, not he, who was casting the decisive vote in the cabinet. This was in reference to Sumter. During the period when the President was waiting to hear from Fort Pickens, commissioners from the Southern Confederacy had been in Washington. Mr. Seward had not received them, but through a trusted agent he had assured them that Sumter would be evacuated. There is no proof, so far as I know, that Mr. Lincoln knew of this quasi-promise of his Secretary of State. As we have seen, he did not decide to order an expedition prepared to relieve the fort until March 29. From what we know of the character of the man, it is inconceivable that he should have authorized Mr. Seward to promise to do a thing which he had not yet decided to do. The Secretary assumed that, because he believed in evacuation, it would follow, and he assured the Southern commissioners to that effect. Suddenly he realized that the President was not going to evacuate Sumter, that his representations to the Southerners were worthless, that he had been following a course which was bound to bring on the administration the charge of deception and fraud. Yet all these things taught him nothing of the man he had to deal with, and on April 1 he sent Mr. Lincoln a letter in which he laid down an astounding policy —to make war on half Europe—and offered to take the reins of administration into his own hands.

SOME THOUGHTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S CONSIDERATION, APRIL 1, 1861.

First. We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy, either domestic or foreign.

Second. This, however, is not culpable, and it has even been unavoidable. The presence of the Senate, with the need to meet applications for patronage, have prevented attention to other and more grave matters.

Third. But further delay to adopt and prosecute our policies for both domestic and foreign affairs would not only bring scandal on the administration, but danger upon the country.

Fourth. To do this we must dismiss the applicants for office. But how? I suggest that we make the local appointments forthwith, leaving foreign or general ones for ulterior and occasional action.

Fifth. The policy at home. I am aware that my views are singular, and perhaps not sufficiently explained. My system is built upon this idea as a ruling one, namely, that we must

CHANGE THE QUESTION BEFORE THE PUBLIC FROM ONE UPON SLAVERY, OR ABOUT SLAVERY, for a question upon UNION OR DISUNION:

In other words, from what would be regarded as a party question, to one of patriotism or union.

The occupation or evacuation of Fort Sumter, although not in fact a slavery or a party question, is so regarded. Witness the temper manifested by the Republicans in the free States, and even by the Union men in the South.

I would therefore terminate it as a safe means for changing the issue. I deem it fortunate that the last administration created the necessity.

For the rest, I would simultaneously defend and re-enforce all the ports in the Gulf, and have the navy recalled from foreign stations to be prepared for a blockade. Put the island of Key West under martial law.

This will raise distinctly the question of union or disunion. I would maintain every fort and possession in the South.

FOR FOREIGN NATIONS.

I would demand explanations from Spain and France, categorically, at once.

I would seek explanations from Great Britain and Russia, and send agents into Canada, Mexico, and Central America to rouse a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention.

And, if satisfactory explanations are not received from Spain and France,

Would convene Congress and declare war against them.

But whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

Devolve it on some member of his cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide.

It is not in my especial province;

But I neither seek to evade nor assume responsibility.

Mr. Lincoln replied:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *April* 1, 1861.

HON. W. H. SEWARD.

My dear Sir: Since parting with you, I have been considering your paper dated this day, and entitled "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration." The first proposition in it is, "*First,* We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy, either domestic or foreign."

At the beginning of that month, in the inaugural, I said: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts." This had your distinct approval at the time; and taken in connection with the order I immediately gave General Scott, directing him to employ

every means in his power to strengthen and hold the forts, comprises the exact domestic policy you now urge, with the single exception that it does not propose to abandon Fort Sumter.

Again, I do not perceive how the re-enforcement of Fort Sumter would be done on a slavery or a party issue, while that of Fort Pickens would be on a more national and patriotic one.

The news received yesterday in regard to St. Domingo certainly brings a new item within the range of our foreign policy; but up to that time we have been preparing circulars and instructions to ministers and the like, all in perfect harmony, without even a suggestion that we had no foreign policy.

Upon your closing proposition—that "whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

"For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

"Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

"Devolve it on some member of his cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide"—I remark that if this must be done, I must do it. When a general line of policy is adopted, I apprehend there is no danger of its being changed without good reason, or continuing to be a subject of unnecessary debate; still, upon points arising in its progress I wish, and suppose I am entitled to have, the advice of all the cabinet.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.*

The magnanimity of this letter was only excelled by the President's treatment of the matter. He never revealed Mr. Seward's amazing proposition to any one but Mr. Nicolay, his private secretary, and it never reached the public until Nicolay and Hay published it. Mr. Lincoln's action in this matter, and his handling of the events which followed,

* Abraham Lincoln, a History, Vol. III. By Nicolay and Hay.

gradually dispelled Mr. Seward's illusion. By June, the Secretary had begun to understand Mr. Lincoln. He was quick and generous to acknowledge his power. "Executive force and vigor are rare qualities," he wrote to Mrs. Seward on June 5. "The President is the best of us."

CHAPTER XXIII

THE BEGINNING OF CIVIL WAR

It was on April 9, 1861, that the expedition ordered by President Lincoln for the relief of Fort Sumter sailed from New York. The day before, the Governor of South Carolina had received from the President the notification sent on the 6th that he might expect an attempt to be made to provision the fort. Ever since Mr. Lincoln's inauguration the Confederate government had been watching intently the new Administration's course. Sumter, it was resolved, should never be captured, re-enforced, even provisioned. When it was certain that an expedition had started for its relief an order to attack the fort was given, and it was bombarded until it fell.

The bombardment of Sumter began at half past four o'clock in the morning of April 12. All that day rumors and private telegrams came to the White House reporting the progress of the attack and Anderson's heroic defense, but there was nothing official. By evening, however, there was no doubt that Fort Sumter was being reduced. Mr. Lincoln was already formulating his plan of action, his one question to the excited visitors who called upon him being, "Will your State support me with military power?" The way in which the matter presented itself to his mind he stated clearly to Congress, when that body next came together:

. . . The assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defense on the part of the

assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew—they were expressly notified—that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that this government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but merely to maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution—trusting, as hereinbefore stated, to time, discussion, and the ballot-box for final adjustment; and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object—to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate dissolution. . . .

And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or can not maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. . . .

So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the war power of the government; and so to resist force employed for its destruction, by force for its preservation.

This was not Mr. Lincoln's view alone. It was the view of the North. And when, on April 15, he issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 militia and appealing to all loyal citizens "to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured," there was an immediate and overwhelming response. The telegraph of the very day of the proclamation announced that in almost every city and town of the North volunteer regiments were forming and that Union mass meetings were in session in halls and churches and public squares. "What portion of the 75,000 militia you call for do you give to Ohio? We will

furnish the largest number you will receive," telegraphed the Governor of that State in response to the President's message. Indiana, whose quota was less than 5,000 men, telegraphed back that 10,000 were ready. "We will furnish you the regiments in thirty days if you want them, and 50,000 men if you need them," telegraphed Zachariah Chandler from Michigan. So rapidly did men come in under this call for 75,000, that in spite of the efforts of the War Department to keep the number down, it swelled to 91,816.

It was not troops alone that were offered. Banks and private individuals offered money and credit. Supplies of every sort were put at the government's order. Corporations sent their presidents to Washington, offering railroads and factories. Stephen Douglas sought Lincoln and offered all his splendid power to the Administration. Edward Everett, who had strongly sympathized with the South, declared for the movement. Individuals suspected of Southern sympathy were promptly hooted off the streets and newspapers which had been advocating disunion were forced to hang out the Stars and Stripes, or suffer a mob to raze their establishments. The fall of Sumter seemed for the moment to make a unit of the North.

Patriotic fervor was intensified by the satisfaction that at last the long tension was over. Nor was this strange. For months the war fever had been burning in the veins of both North and South. At times compromise had seemed certain, then suddenly no one knew why it seemed as if another twenty-four hours would plunge the country into war. Many a public man on both sides had grown thin and haggard in wrestling with the terrible problem that winter and spring. Congressmen in Washington had walked the streets arguing, groaning, seeking an escape. Many a sleepless man had tossed nightly on his bed until daybreak, then rose to smoke and walk, always pursued by the same problems and never

seeing any final solution but war. The struggle had penetrated the social circles, particularly in border cities like Washington, and rarely did people assemble that hot discussions did not rise. The very children in the schools took up the debates, and for many weeks in Washington the school grounds were the scenes of small daily quarrels, ending often in blows and tears. The fall of Sumter ended this exhausting uncertainty. Henceforth there was nothing to do but range yourself on one side or the other and fight it out.

But if Sumter unified the sentiment of the North, it did no less for the South. Henceforth there was but one voice in the Southern States, and that for the Confederacy. North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, all refused the President's call for troops. In Virginia a convention was in session, whose members up to that day were in the main for the Union. On April 17 that convention passed an ordinance of secession. The next day the arsenal at Harper's Ferry was seized by the State, and the Southern Confederacy at Montgomery was informed that Virginia was open to its troops. The line of hostility had reached the very boundaries of Washington. The bluffs across the Potomac, now beautiful in the first green of spring, on which Mr. Lincoln looked every morning from his windows in the White House, were no longer in his country. They belonged to the enemy.

With the news of the secession of Virginia, there reached Washington on Thursday, April 18, a rumor that a large Confederate force was marching on the city. Now there were not over 2,500 armed men in Washington. Regiments were known to be on their way from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, but nobody could say when they would arrive. Washington might be razed to the ground before they came. A hurried effort at defense was at once made. Women and children were sent out of the city. At the

White House, Mrs. Lincoln was urged to go with her boys, but she refused positively. "I am as safe as Mr. Lincoln, and I shall not leave him," was her stout answer.

Guards were stationed at every approach to the city, cannon were planted in commanding positions, while "government officials, foreign ministers, governors, senators, office-seekers" were pressed into one or the other of two impromptu organizations, the Clay Battalion of Cassius M. Clay, and the Frontier Guards of Senator Lane of Kansas. For a short time the Frontier Guards were quartered in the East Room of the White House, and Clay's Battalion at Willard's Hotel, which had been stripped of its guests in a night.

The confusion and alarm of the city was greatly increased on Friday by news received from Baltimore. The Sixth Massachusetts, *en route* to the Capital, had reached there that day, and had been attacked as it marched through by a mob of Southern sympathizers. Four of its members had been killed and many wounded. "No troops should go through Maryland," the people of Baltimore declared, "whose purpose was to invade Virginia and coerce sister States." That evening about five o'clock the regiment reached Washington. Dusty, torn, and bleeding, they marched two by two through a great crowd of silent people to the Capitol. Behind them there came, in single line, seventeen stretchers, bearing the wounded. The dead had been left behind.

Early the next day, Saturday, the 20th, a delegation of Baltimore men appeared at the White House. They had come to beg Mr. Lincoln to bring no more troops through their city. After a long discussion, he sent them away with a note to the Maryland authorities, suggesting that the troops be marched *around* Baltimore. But as he gave them the letter, Mr. Nicolay heard him say laughingly: "If I grant you this concession, that no troops shall pass through the

city, you will be back here to-morrow, demanding that none shall be marched around it."

The President was right. That afternoon, and again on Sunday and Monday, committees sought him, protesting that Maryland soil should not be "polluted" by the feet of soldiers marching against the South. The President had but one reply: "We must have troops; and as they can neither crawl under Maryland nor fly over it, they must come across it."

While the controversy with the Baltimoreans was going on, the condition of Washington had become hourly more alarming. In 1861 there was but *one* railroad running north from Washington. At Annapolis Junction this line connected with a branch to Chesapeake Bay; at the Relay House, with the Baltimore and Ohio to the west; at Baltimore, with the only two lines then entering that city from the North, one from Harrisburg, the other from Philadelphia. On Friday, April 19, after the attack on the Sixth Massachusetts, the Maryland authorities ordered that certain of the bridges on the railroads running from Baltimore to Harrisburg and Philadelphia be destroyed. This was done to prevent any more trains bearing troops entering the city. The telegraph lines were also partially destroyed at this time. Inspired by this example, the excited Marylanders, in the course of the next two or three days, tore up much of the track running north from Washington, as well as that of the Annapolis branch, and still further damaged the telegraph. Exit from Washington to the north, east, and west by rail was now impossible. On Sunday night matters were made still worse by the complete interruption of the telegraph to the north. The last wire had been cut. All the news which reached Washington now came by way of the south, and it was all of the most disturbing nature. From twelve to fifteen thousand Confederates were reported near Alexandria, and an

army under Jefferson Davis was said to be ready to march from Richmond. The alarmed citizens, expecting hourly to be attacked, were constantly reporting that they heard cannon booming from this or that direction, or had seen scouts prowling around the outskirts of the town.

The activity of the War Department under these conditions was extraordinary. General Scott had only four or five thousand men under arms, but he proposed, if the town was attacked, to contest possession point by point, and he had every public building, including school-houses, barricaded. At the Capitol, barricades of cement barrels, sandbags, and iron plates such as were being used in the construction of the dome were erected ten feet high, at every entrance. In all his efforts the General was assisted by the loyal citizens. Even the men exempted from service by age formed a company called the "Silver Grays," and the soldiers of the War of 1812 offered themselves.

By Tuesday, April 23, a new terror was added to the situation—that of famine. The country around had been scoured for provisions, and supplies were getting short. If Washington was to be besieged, as it looked, what was to be done about food? The government at once ordered that the flour at the Georgetown mills, some 25,000 barrels, be seized, and sold according to the discretion of the military authorities.

In its distress, it was to Mr. Lincoln that the city turned. The fiber of the man began to show at once. Bayard Taylor happened to be in Washington at the very beginning of the alarm, and called on the President. "His demeanor was thoroughly calm and collected," Taylor wrote to the New York "Tribune," "and he spoke of the present crisis with that solemn, earnest composure which is the sign of a soul not easily perturbed. I came away from his presence cheered and encouraged." However, the suspense of the

days when the Capital was isolated, the expected troops not arriving, an hourly attack feared, wore on Mr. Lincoln greatly. "I begin to believe," Mr. Hay heard him say bitterly, one day, to some Massachusetts soldiers, "that there is no North. The Seventh Regiment is a myth. Rhode Island is another. You are the only real thing." And again, after pacing the floor of his deserted office for a half hour, he was heard to exclaim to himself, in an anguished tone, "Why don't they come! Why don't they come!"

The delay of the troops to arrive was, perhaps, the most mysterious and terrifying element in the situation for Mr. Lincoln. He knew that several regiments had started, and that the Seventh New York was at Annapolis, having come down Chesapeake Bay. Why they did not make a way through he could not understand. The most disquieting rumors reached him—now that an army had been raised in Maryland to oppose their advance; now that they had attempted to come up the Potomac, and were aground on Virginia soil. At last, however, the long suspense was broken. About noon, on Thursday, the 25th, the whole city was thrown into excitement by the shrill whistle of a locomotive. A great crowd gathered at the station, where the Seventh New York was debarking. The regiment had worked its way from Annapolis to the city, building bridges and laying track as it went. Worn and dirty as the men were, they marched gaily up Pennsylvania avenue, through the crowds of cheering, weeping people, to the White House, where Mr. Lincoln received them. The next day, 1,200 Rhode Island troops and the Butler Brigade of 1,400 arrived. Before the end of the week, there were said to be 17,000 troops in the city, and it was believed that the number could easily be increased to 40,000. Mr. Lincoln had won his first point. He had soldiers to defend his Capital.

But it was evident by this time that something more was

necessary than to defend Washington. When, on April 15, Mr. Lincoln called for 75,000 men for three months, he had commanded the persons disturbing the public peace "to disperse and retire peacefully to their respective abodes within twenty days from date."

In reply the South had marched on his Capital, cutting it off from all communication with the North for nearly a week, and had so threatened Harper's Ferry and Norfolk that to prevent the arsenal and shipyards from falling into the hands of the enemy, the Federal commanders had destroyed both these fine government properties.

Before ten of the twenty days had passed, it was plain that the order was worthless.

"I have desired as sincerely as any man, and I sometimes think more than any other man," said the President on April 27 to a visiting military company, "that our present difficulties might be settled without the shedding of blood. I *will not* say that all hope has yet gone; but if the alternative is presented whether the Union is to be broken in fragments and the liberties of the people lost, or blood be shed, you will probably make the choice with which I shall not be dissatisfied."

If not as yet quite convinced that war was coming, Mr. Lincoln saw that it was so probable that he must have an army of something beside "three months' men," for the very next day after this speech, the Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, wrote to a correspondent that the President had decided to add twenty-five regiments to the regular army.

There was great need that the regular army be re-enforced. At the beginning of the year it had numbered 16,367 men, but a large part of this force was in the West, and the efficiency of the whole was greatly weakened by the desertion of officers to the South, 313 of the commissioned officers, nearly one-third of the whole number, having resigned. To

Mr. Lincoln's great satisfaction, this disaffection did not extend to the "common soldiers and common sailors." "To the last man, so far as is known," he said proudly, "they have successfully resisted the traitorous efforts of those whose commands, but an hour before, they obeyed as absolute law." It was on May 3 that the President issued a proclamation increasing the regulars by 22,714, and calling for three years' volunteers to the number of 42,034. But the country was not satisfied to send so few. When the War Department refused troops from States beyond the quota assigned, Governors literally begged that they be allowed to send more.

"You have no conception of the depth of feeling universal in the Northern mind for the prosecution of this war until the flag floats from every spot on which it had a right to float a year ago," wrote Galusha A. Grow, on May 5. . . . In my judgment, the enthusiasm of the hour ought not to be represented by flat refusals on the part of the government, but let them (troops offered above the quota) be held in readiness (in some way) in the States."

A meeting of the Governors of the Western and Border States was held in Cleveland, Ohio, about the time of the second call, and Mr. Randall, the Governor of Wisconsin, wrote to Lincoln on May 6:

"I must be permitted to say it, because it is a fact, there is a spirit evoked by this rebellion among the liberty-loving people of the country that is driving them to action, and if the government will not permit them to act for it, they will act for themselves. It is better for the government to direct this spirit than to let it run wild. . . . If it was absolutely certain that the 75,000 troops first called would wipe out this rebellion in three weeks from to-day, it would still be the policy of your Administration, and for the best interest of the government, in view of what ought to be the

great future of this nation, to call into the field at once 300,000 men."

At the same time from Maine W. P. Fessenden wrote: "Rely upon it, you cannot at Washington fairly estimate the resolute determination existing among all classes of people in the free States to put down at once and forever this monstrous rebellion."

Under this pressure, regiment after regiment was added to the three years' volunteers. It was Mr. Lincoln's personal interference which brought in many of these regiments. "Why cannot Colonel Small's Philadelphia regiment be received?" he wrote to the Secretary of War on May 21, "I sincerely wish it could. There is something strange about it. Give those gentlemen an interview, and take their regiment." Again on June 13 he wrote: "There is, it seems, a regiment in Massachusetts commanded by Fletcher Webster, and which the Hon. Daniel Webster's old friends very much wish to get into the service. If it can be received with the approval of your department and the consent of the Governor of Massachusetts, I shall indeed be much gratified. Give Mr. Ashmun a chance to explain fully." And again on June 17: "With your concurrence, and that of the Governor of Indiana, I am in favor of accepting into what we call the three years' service any number not exceeding four additional regiments from that State. Probably they should come from the triangular region between the Ohio and Wabash rivers, including my own old boyhood home."*

So rapid was the increase of the army under this policy, that on July 1, the Secretary of War reported 310,000 men at his command, and added: "At the present moment the government presents the striking anomaly of being em-

* These extracts are from letters to Mr. Cameron found in a volume of the War Records as yet unpublished. Others of the same tenor are in the volume.

barrassed by the generous outpouring of volunteers to support its action."

But Mr. Lincoln soon found that enrolling men does not make an army. He must uniform, arm, shelter, feed, nurse, and transport them as needed. It was in providing for the needs of the men that came so willingly into service that the Administration found its chief embarrassment. The most serious difficulty was in getting arms. Men could go ununiformed, and sleep in the open air, but to fight they must have guns. The supplies of the United States arsenals in the North had been greatly depleted in the winter of 1860 and 1861 by transfers to the South, between one-fifth and one-sixth of all the muskets in the country and between one-fourth and one-fifth of all the rifles having been sent to the six seceding States. The Confederates had not only obtained a large share of government arms, but through January, February, March, April, and May they bought from private factories in the North, "under the very noses of the United States officers." This became such a scandal that the Administration had to send out an agent to investigate the trade. At the same time the Federal ministers abroad were warning Mr. Lincoln that the South was picking up all the arms Europe had to spare, and the North was buying nothing. The need of arms opened the way for inventors, and Washington was overrun with men having guns to be tested. Mr. Lincoln took the liveliest interest in these new arms, and it sometimes happened that, when an inventor could get nobody else in the government to listen to him, the President would personally test his gun. A former clerk in the Navy Department tells an incident illustrative. He had stayed late one night at his desk, when he heard some one striding up and down the hall muttering: "I do wonder if they have gone already and left the building all alone." Looking out, the clerk was surprised to see the President

"Good evening," said Mr. Lincoln. "I was just looking for that man who goes shooting with me sometimes."

The clerk knew that Mr. Lincoln referred to a certain messenger of the Ordnance Department who had been accustomed to going with him to test weapons, but as this man had gone home, the clerk offered his services. Together they went to the lawn south of the White House, where Mr. Lincoln fixed up a target cut from a sheet of white Congressional note-paper. "Then pacing off a distance of about eighty or a hundred feet," writes the clerk, "he raised the rifle to a level, took a quick aim, and drove the round of seven shots in quick succession, the bullets shooting all around the target like a Gatling gun and one striking near the centre.

"'I believe I can make this gun shoot better,' said Mr. Lincoln, after we had looked at the result of the first fire. With this he took from his vest pocket a small wooden sight which he had whittled from a pine stick, and adjusted it over the sight of the carbine. He then shot two rounds, and of the fourteen bullets nearly a dozen hit the paper!"

It was in these early days of preparing for war that Mr. Lincoln interested himself, too, in experiments with the balloon. He was one of the first persons in this country to receive a telegraphic message from a balloon sent up to make observations on an enemy's works. This experiment was made in June, and so pleased the President that the balloonist was allowed to continue his observations from the Virginia side. These observations were successful, and on June 21, Joseph Henry, the distinguished secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, declared in a report to the Administration that, "from experiments made here for the first time, it is conclusively proved that telegrams can be sent with ease and certainty between the balloon and the quarters of the commanding officer."

The extraordinary conditions under which Mr. Lincoln

entered the White House prevented him for some weeks from adopting anything like systematic habits. By the time of his second call for troops, however, he had adjusted himself to his new home as well as he ever was able to do. The arrangement of the White House was not materially different then from what it is now. The entrance, halls, the East Room, the Green Room, the Blue Room, the State Dining-room, all were the same, the only difference being in furnishings and decorations. The Lincoln family used the west end of the second floor as a private apartment; the east end being devoted to business. Mr. Lincoln's office was the large room on the south side of the house, between the office of Private Secretary Nicolay, at the southeast corner, and the room now used as a Cabinet-room.

"The furniture of this room," says Mr. Isaac Arnold, a friend and frequent visitor of the President, "consisted of a large oak table covered with cloth, extending north and south, and it was around this table that the Cabinet sat when it held its meetings. Near the end of the table and between the windows was another table, on the west side of which the President sat, in a large arm-chair, and at this table he wrote. A tall desk, with pigeon-holes for papers, stood against the south wall. The only books usually found in this room were the Bible, the United States Statutes and a copy of Shakespeare. There were a few chairs and two plain hair-covered sofas. There were two or three map frames, from which hung military maps, on which the positions and movements of the armies were traced. There was an old and discolored engraving of General Jackson on the mantel and a later photograph of John Bright. Doors opened into this room from the room of the Secretary and from the outside hall, running east and west across the house. A bell cord within reach of his hand extended to the Secretary's office. A messenger sat at the door opening from the hall, and took in the cards and names of visitors."

One serious annoyance in the arrangement of the business

part of the White House at that date arose from the fact that to reach his office Mr. Lincoln was obliged, in coming from his private apartment, to pass through the hall. As this hall was always filled with persons anxious to see him, it was especially difficult for a man of his informal habits and genial nature to get through. Late in 1864 this difficulty was remedied. At the suggestion of one of his body-guard, a door was cut from the family library into the present cabinet-room and a light partition was run across the south end, thus enabling him to pass into his office without interruption.

Most of his time, while President, Mr. Lincoln undoubtedly spent in his office. He was a very early riser, being often at his desk at six o'clock in the morning, and sometimes even going out on errands at this early hour. A friend tells of passing the White House early one morning in the spring of 1861 and seeing Mr. Lincoln standing at the gate, looking anxiously up and down the street. "Good morning, good morning," he said. "I am looking for a newsboy. When you get to the corner, I wish you would send one up this way."

After the firing on Fort Sumter and the alarm for the safety of Washington, the office-seekers fell off sufficiently for the President to announce that he would see no visitors before nine o'clock in the morning or after two in the afternoon. He never kept the rule himself, but those about him did their best to keep it for him. He was most informal in receiving visitors. Sometimes he even went out into the hall himself to reply to cards. Ben: Perley Poore says he did this frequently for newspaper men. Indeed, it was so much more natural for Mr. Lincoln to do things for himself than to call on others, to go to others than have them come to him, that he was constantly appearing in unexpected places. The place to which he went oftenest was the War Department.

In 1861, separate buildings occupied the space now covered by the State, Army, and Navy Building. The War Department stood on the site of the northeast corner of the present structure, facing on Pennsylvania avenue. The Navy Building was south and in line, and no street separated the White House from these buildings, as now, but the lawn was continuous, and a gravel walk ran from one to another. Mr. Lincoln had no telegraph apparatus in the White House, so that all war news was brought to him from the War Department, unless he went after it. He much preferred to go after it, and he began soon after the fall of Fort Sumter to run over to the Department whenever anything important occurred. Mr. William B. Wilson, of Philadelphia, was in the military telegraph office of the War Department from the first of May, 1861, and in some unpublished recollections of Mr. Lincoln he recalls an incident illustrating admirably the President's informal relation to the telegraph office. Mr. Wilson had been sent to the White House hurriedly to repeat an important message from an excited Governor.

"Mr. Lincoln considered it of sufficient importance," writes Mr. Wilson, "to return with me to the War Department for the purpose of having a 'wire-talk' with the perturbed Governor. Calling one of his two younger boys to join him, we then started from the White House, between stately trees, along a gravel path which led to the rear of the old War Department building. It was a warm day, and Mr. Lincoln wore as part of his costume a faded gray linen duster which hung loosely around his long gaunt frame; his kindly eye was beaming with good nature, and his ever-thoughtful brow was unruffled. We had barely reached the gravel walk before he stooped over, picked up a round smooth pebble, and shooting it off his thumb, challenged us to a game of 'followings,' which we accepted. Each in turn tried to hit the outlying stone, which was being constantly projected onward by the President. The game was short, but exciting; the cheerfulness of childhood, the ambition of young man-

hood, and the gravity of the statesman were all injected into it. The game was not won until the steps of the War Department were reached. Every inch of progression was toughly contested, and when the President was declared victor, it was only by a hand span. He appeared to be as much pleased as if he had won a battle, and softened the defeat of the vanquished by attributing his success to his greater height of person and longer reach of arm."

One noticeable feature of Mr. Lincoln's life, at this time, was his relation to the common soldier. Officers he respected, even deferred to, but from the first arrival of troops in Washington it was the man on foot, with a gun on his shoulder, that had Mr. Lincoln's heart. Even at this early period the men found it out, and went to him confidently for favors refused elsewhere. Thus the franking of letters by Congressmen was one of the perquisites of the boys, and there are cases of their going to the President with letters to be franked when they failed to find, or were refused by, their Congressman. But they also soon learned that trivial pleas or complaints were met by rebukes as caustic as the help they received was genuine when they had a just cause. General Sherman relates the following incident that befell one day when he was riding through camp with Mr. Lincoln:

"I saw," says the general, "an officer with whom I had had a little difficulty that morning. His face was pale and his lips compressed. I foresaw a scene, but sat on the front seat of the carriage as quiet as a lamb. The officer forced his way through the crowd to the carriage, and said: 'Mr. President, I have a cause of grievance. This morning I went to speak to Colonel Sherman, and he threatened to shoot me.' Mr. Lincoln said: 'Threatened to shoot you?' 'Yes, sir, threatened to shoot me.' Mr. Lincoln looked at him, then at me, and stooping his tall form towards the officer, said to him, in a loud stage whisper, easily heard for some yards

around, '*Well, if I were you, and he threatened to shoot me, I would not trust him, for I believe he would do it.*'"

It is curious to note in the records of the time how soon, not only the soldiers, but the general public of Washington discovered the big heart of the new President. A correspondent of the Philadelphia "Press," in a letter of May 23, tells how he saw Mr. Lincoln one day sitting in his "new barouche" in front of the Treasury, awaiting Mr. Chase, when there came along a boy on crutches. Lincoln immediately called the boy to him, asked him several questions, and then slipped a gold piece into his hands. "Such acts of liberality and disinterested charity," said the correspondent, "are frequently practiced by our Executive, who can never look upon distress without attempting to relieve it."

As soon as the first rush of soldiers to Washington was over and the Capital was comparatively safe, Mr. Lincoln began to take a drive every afternoon. It was among the soldiers that he went almost invariably. Indeed, it was impossible to escape the camps, so fully was the city turned over to the military. The Capitol, Inauguration Ball-room, Patent Office, and other public buildings were used as temporary quarters for incoming troops. The Corcoran Art Gallery had been turned into a store-house for army supplies. A bakery was established in the basement of the Capitol. The Twelfth New York was in Franklin Park. At the Georgetown College was another regiment. On Meridian Hill the Seventh New York was stationed. Everywhere were soldiers. Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet officers drove daily to one or another of these camps. Very often his outing for the day was attending some ceremony incident to camp life: a military funeral, a camp wedding, a review, a flag-raising. He did not often make speeches. "I have made a great many poor speeches," he said one day, in ex-

cusing himself, "and I now feel relieved that my dignity does not permit me to be a public speaker."

All through these early days of calling the army to Washington there was little to make one feel how terrible a thing it is to collect and prepare men for battle. So far it was the splendid outburst of patriotism, the dash of adventure, the holiday gaiety of it all, which had impressed the country. There were critics now who said, as they had said before the inauguration and again before the firing on Fort Sumter, that the President did not understand what was going on before his eyes. General Sherman himself confesses his irritation at what seemed to him an unbecoming placidity on the part of Mr. Lincoln. The General had just come from Louisiana. "How are they getting on down there?" asked the President.

"They are getting on swimmingly," Sherman replied. "They are preparing for war."

"Oh, well," Lincoln said, "I guess we'll manage to keep house."

More penetrating observers saw something else in the President, an inner man, wrestling incessantly with an awful problem. N. P. Willis, who saw him at one of the many flag-raisings of that spring, records an impression common enough among thoughtful observers:

"There was a momentary interval," writes Willis, "while the band played the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' and during this 'brief waiting for the word,' all eyes, of course, were on the President's face, in which (at least for those near enough to see it well) there was the same curious problem of expression which has been more than once noticed by the close observer of that singular countenance—the two-fold working of the twofold nature of the man. Lincoln the Westerner, slightly humorous but thoroughly practical and sagacious, was measuring the 'chore' that was to be done, and wondering whether that string was going to draw that heap of stuff

through the hole in the top of the partition, determining that it should, but seeing clearly that it was mechanically a badly arranged job, and expecting the difficulty that did actually occur. Lincoln the President and statesman was another nature, seen in those abstract and serious eyes, which seemed withdrawn to an inner sanctuary of thought, sitting in judgment on the scene and feeling its far reach into the future. A whole man, and an exceedingly handy and joyous one, was to hoist the flag, but an anxious and reverent and deep-thinking statesman and patriot was to stand apart while it went up and pray God for its long waving and sacred welfare. Completely, and yet separately, the one strange face told both stories, and told them well."

By the middle of May, 1861, the problem of Mr. Lincoln's life was how to use the army he had called together. The capital was now well guarded. Troops were at Norfolk, Baltimore, and Harper's Ferry, the points at which the Confederates had made their earliest demonstrations. The uncertainty as to whether Kentucky would leave the Union had imperiled the line of the Ohio and compelled military demonstrations at Cincinnati and Cairo, and in Missouri the struggle between the Northern and Southern sympathizers had become so violent that a Military Department had been created there. Thus the President had a zig-zag line of troops running from Missouri eastward to Norfolk. The bulk of all the troops however, were in and around Washington. The North had been urging the President, from the day it answered his first call, to advance the volunteers into Virginia. "Don't establish batteries on Georgetown Heights," wrote Zachariah Chandler from Michigan on April 17. "March your troops into Virginia. Quarter them there." Finally, about the middle of May, the President decided that a movement across the river should be made, the object being to seize the heights from Arlington south to Alexandria. Mr. Lincoln had the success of this movement deeply at heart,

The Confederate flag flying from a staff at Alexandria had been a constant eyesore to him. Again and again he was seen standing with a gloomy face before one of the south windows of the White House looking through a glass at this flag.

The time for the advance was set for the night of May 23. By morning, Arlington, the shores of the Potomac southward, and the town of Alexandria were occupied by Federal troops. The enemy had fled at their approach. The flag which had caused Mr. Lincoln so much pain was gone, but its removal had cost a life very precious to the President. Young Colonel Ellsworth, one of the most brilliant officers in the volunteer service, a man whom the President had brought to Washington and for whom he felt the warmest affection, had been shot.

The Arlington heights seized, the army lay for weeks inactive. The one movement for which the North now clamored was a march from Arlington to Richmond. The delay to move made the country irritable and sarcastic. Perhaps the completest expression of the discontent of the North with the military policy of the Administration is found in the New York "Tribune." For days, beginning early in June, that paper kept standing at the head of its editorial columns what it called "The Nation's War Cry." "Forward to Richmond. Forward to Richmond. The Rebel Congress must not be allowed to meet there on the 20th of July. By that date the place must be held by the National Army."

Mr. Lincoln was as anxious for a successful movement southward as any man in the country; but for some time he resisted the popular outcry, giving his generals the opportunity to make ready for which they begged. At last, towards the end of June, he decided that an advance must be made, and he summoned his Cabinet and the leading military men near Washington to meet him on the evening of

June 29 and discuss the advisability of and the plans for an immediate attack on the enemy's army, then entrenched at Manassas Junction, some twenty miles southwest of Washington. The Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Scott, opposed the advance. He had another plan of campaign; the army was not ready. But Mr. Lincoln insisted that the country demanded a movement, and that if the Federal army was "green," so was that of the Confederates. General Scott waived his objections, and the advance was ordered for July 9.

Before the battle came off, however, the President wished to impress again on the North what it was fighting for. On July 4, when he sent his message to Congress, which he had summoned in extra session, he put before them clearly his theory of and justification for the war.

"This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all; to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend. . . .

"Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace; teaching

men that what they cannot take by election, neither can they take it by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war. . . .

"As a private citizen the executive could not have consented that the institutions of this country shall perish; much less could he, in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as the free people have confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the chances of his own life in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility he has, so far, done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your own judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views and your actions may so accord with his, as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their rights of a certain and speedy restoration to them, under the Constitution and the laws.

"And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts."

With these words Mr. Lincoln started the first War Congress on its duties and the Army of Northeastern Virginia towards Bull Run.

The advance of the Federals from Arlington towards Manassas Junction had been ordered for July 9. For one and another reason, however, it was July 21 before the army was ready to attack. The day was Sunday, a brilliant, hot Washington day. Anxious as Mr. Lincoln was over the coming battle, he went to church as usual. It was while he was there that a distant roar of cannon, the first sounds of the battle, only twenty miles away, reached him. Returning to the White House after the services, the President's first inquiry was for news. Telegrams had just begun to come in. They continued at intervals all the afternoon—broken reports from now this, now that, part of the field. Although fragmentary, they were as a whole encouraging. The President studied them carefully, and after a time went over to

General Scott's headquarters to talk the news over with him. By half-past five he felt so sure that the field was won that he went out for his usual afternoon drive. What happened at the White House then the only eye witnesses, his secretaries, have told in their History:

"He had not returned when, at six o'clock, Secretary Seward came to the Executive Mansion, pale and haggard. 'Where is the President?' he asked hoarsely of the private secretaries. 'Gone to drive,' they answered. 'Have you any late news?' he continued. They read him the telegrams which announced victory. 'Tell no one,' said he. 'That is not true. The battle is lost. The telegraph says that McDowell is in full retreat and calls on General Scott to save the capital. Find the President and tell him to come immediately to General Scott's.'

"Half an hour later the President returned from his drive, and his private secretaries gave him Seward's message, the first intimation he received of the trying news. He listened in silence, without the slightest change of feature or expression, and walked away to army headquarters. There he read the unwelcome report in a telegram from a captain of engineers: 'General McDowell's army in full retreat through Centreville. The day is lost. Save Washington and the remnants of this army. . . The routed troops will not reform.'"

From that time on, for at least twenty-four hours, a continuous stream of tales of disaster was poured upon Mr. Lincoln. A number of public men had gone from Washington to see the battle. Ex-Senator Dawes, who was among them, says that General Scott urged him to go, telling him that it was undoubtedly the only battle he would ever have a chance to see. About midnight they began to return. They came in haggard, worn, and horror-stricken, and a number of them repaired to the White House, where Mr. Lincoln, lying on his office sofa, listened to their tales of the panic that had seized the army about four in the afternoon and of the re-

treat that had followed. All of those who returned that night to Washington were positive that the Confederates would attack the city before morning.

The events of the next day were no less harrowing to Mr. Lincoln than those of the night. A drizzling rain was falling, and from daybreak there could be seen, crowding and staggering across the Long Bridge, hundreds of soldiers, civilians, negroes, and horses. Hour by hour the streets of the city grew fuller. On the corners white-faced women stood beside boilers of coffee, feeding the exhausted men. Now and then the remnants of a regiment or company which somehow had kept together marched up the street, mud-splashed and dejected. One of the most pathetic sights of the day was the return of Burnside and his men. The regiment and its handsome general had been one of the town's delights. Now they came back broken in numbers and so overcome with fatigue that man after man dropped in the streets as he marched, while slowly in front, his head on his breast, the reins on the neck of his exhausted horse, rode Burnside.

Before Monday night, it was known that the enemy was not following up his advantage. Two days later the Union army was reintrenched on Arlington heights. A revulsion of feeling had already begun. The effort to make out the rout to be as complete and terrible as it could be, was followed by an attempt to show that it was nothing but a panic among teamsters and sight-seers. Mr. Lincoln was asked to listen to a number of these explanations. "Ah, I see," he said to one vindicator of the day, "we whipped the enemy, and then ran away from him."

Explanations of the Battle of Bull Run did not interest the President. He was giving his whole mind to repairing the disaster. Two days later, July 23, he wrote out the following "Memoranda of Military Policy suggested by the Bull Run Defeat." Nicolay and Hay, to whose history we owe

this document, say that the President made the first notes of this "policy" while men were bringing him news of the disaster.

1. Let the plan for making the blockade effective be pushed forward with all possible dispatch.

2. Let the volunteer forces at Fort Monroe and vicinity under General Butler be constantly drilled, disciplined, and instructed without more for the present.

3. Let Baltimore be held as now, with a gentle but firm and certain hand.

4. Let the force now under Patterson or Banks be strengthened and made secure in its position.

5. Let the forces in Western Virginia act till further orders according to instructions or orders from General McClellan.

6. Let General Frémont push forward his organization and operations in the West as rapidly as possible, giving rather special attention to Missouri.

7. Let the forces late before Manassas, except the three months' men, be reorganized as rapidly as possible in their camps here and about Arlington.

8. Let the three months' forces who decline to enter the longer service be discharged as rapidly as circumstances will permit.

9. Let the new volunteer forces be brought forward as fast as possible; and especially into the camps on the two sides of the river here.

July 27, 1861.

When the foregoing shall be substantially attended to:

1. Let Manassas Junction (or some point on one or other of the railroads near it) and Strasburg be seized, and permanently held, with an open line from Washington to Manassas, and an open line from Harper's Ferry to Strasburg—the military men to find the way of doing these.

2. This done, a joint movement from Cairo on Memphis; and from Cincinnati on East Tennessee.

It was to points 7, 8 and 9 of the above memorandum that the President gave his first attention.

Congress, prostrated as it was by the unexpected defeat, stood by Lincoln bravely, voting him men and money. Resources he was not going to lack. The confidence of the country was what he needed. To stimulate this confidence, Mr. Lincoln and his advisers summoned to Washington, on July 22, George B. McClellan, the only man who had thus far accomplished anything in the war on which the North looked with pride, and asked him to take the command of the demoralized army. A more effective move could not have been made.

McClellan was a West Point graduate who had seen service in the Mexican War, but who, in the spring of 1861 held a position as a railroad president. His home was in Cincinnati. After the fall of Sumter the fear of invasion spread rapidly westward from Washington. On April 21 the Governor of Ohio wired the Secretary of War that he desired a suitable United States officer to be detailed at once to take command of the volunteers of Cincinnati and to provide for the defense of that city, and the next day several leading men wired that the "People of Cincinnati" wished Captain McClellan to be appointed to the position.

A month later, when West Virginia had decided to stay with the Union and Eastern Virginia had decided to coerce her to remain with the South, McClellan, who had been put in charge of the Ohio troops as his friends requested, was ordered to protect the Unionists of the section against the Southern army. Early in July he undertook an offensive campaign against the enemy, completely driving him from the country in less than three weeks. McClellan announced his victories in a series of addresses which thrilled the North. They saw in him a great general, a second Napoleon and were satisfied when he was put in charge of the army that the disgrace of Bull Run would be speedily wiped out.

While occupied in reorganizing and increasing the army,

Mr. Lincoln did his best to improve the *morale* of officers and men. One of the first things he did, in fact, after the battle was to "run over and see the boys," as he expressed it. General Sherman, who was with Mr. Lincoln as he drove about the camps on this visit, says that he made one of the "neatest, best, and most feeling addresses" he ever listened to, and that its effect on the troops was "excellent." As often as he could after this, Mr. Lincoln went to the Arlington camps. Frequently in these visits he left his carriage and walked up and down the lines shaking hands with the men, repeating heartily as he did so, "God bless you, God bless you." Before a month had passed, he saw that under McClellan's training the Army of the Potomac, as it had come to be called, had recovered almost completely from the panic of Bull Run, and that it was growing every day in efficiency. But scarcely had his anxiety over the condition of things around Washington been allayed, before a grave problem was raised in the West. The severest criticisms began to come to him on the conduct of a man whom he had made a major-general and whom he had put in command of the important Western division, John C. Frémont. The force of these criticisms was intensified by serious disasters to the Union troops in Missouri.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE FAILURE OF FREMONT—LINCOLN'S FIRST DIFFICULTIES WITH McCLELLAN—THE DEATH OF WILLIE LINCOLN

THE most popular military appointment Lincoln made before McClellan was that of John C. Frémont to the command of the Department of the West. Republicans appreciated it, for had not Frémont been the first candidate of their party for the Presidency? The West was jubilant: Frémont's explorations had years before made him the hero of the land along the Mississippi. The cabinet was satisfied, particularly Postmaster-General Blair, whose "pet and *protégé*" Frémont was. Lincoln himself "thought well of Frémont," believed he could do the work to be done; and he had already had experience enough to discern that his great trouble was to be, not finding major-generals—he had more *pegs* than *holes* to put them in, he said one day—but finding major-generals who could do the thing they were ordered to do.

Frémont had gone to his headquarters at St. Louis, Missouri, late in July. Before a month had passed, the gravest charges of incompetency and neglect of duty were being made against him. It was even intimated to the President that the General was using his position to work up a Northwestern Confederacy.* Mr. Lincoln had listened to all these

* Dr. Emil Preetorius, editor of the "Westliche Post" of St. Louis, Mo., said of this charge, in an interview for this work: "I know that Frémont gave no countenance to any scheme which others may have conceived for the establishment of a Northwestern Confederacy. I had abundant proof, through the years that I knew him, that he was a patriot and a most unselfish man. The defect in Frémont was that he was a dreamer. Impractical, visionary things went a long way with him. He was a poor judge of men and formed strange associations. He surrounded himself with foreigners, especially Hungarians, most of whom

charges, but taken no action, when, on the morning of August 30, he was amazed to read it in his newspaper that Frémont had issued a proclamation declaring, among other things, that the property, real and personal, of all the persons in the State of Missouri who should take up arms against the United States, or who should be directly proved to have taken an active part with its enemies in the field, would be confiscated to public use and their slaves, if they had any, declared freemen.

Frémont's proclamation astonished the country as much as it did the President. In the North it elicited almost universal satisfaction. This was striking at the root of the trouble—slavery. But in the Border States, particularly in Kentucky, the Union party was dismayed. The only possible method of keeping those sections in the Union was not to interfere with slavery. Mr. Lincoln saw this as clearly as his Border State supporters. It was well known that this was his policy. He felt that Frémont had not only defied the policy of the administration, he had usurped power which belonged only to the legislative part of the government. He had a good excuse for reprimanding the general, even for removing him. Instead, he wrote him, on September 2, a most kindly letter:

I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph [of the proclamation], in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberating slaves of traitorous owners, will

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were adventurers and some of whom were swindlers. I struggled hard to persuade him not to let these men have so much to do with his administration. Mrs. Frémont, unlike the General, was most practical. She was fond of success. She and the General were alike, however, in their notions of the loyalty due between friends. Once, when I protested against the character of the men who surrounded Frémont, she replied: 'Do you know these very men went out with us on horseback when we took possession of the Mariposa? They risked their lives for us. Now we can't go back on them.' It was the woman's feeling. She forgot that brave men may sometimes be downright thieves and robbers."

alarm our Southern Union friends and turn them against us; perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me, therefore, to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the act of Congress entitled, "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and a copy of which act I herewith send you.

This letter is written in a spirit of caution, and not of censure. I send it by special messenger, in order that it may certainly and speedily reach you.

But Lincoln did more than this. Without waiting for Frémont's reply to the above, he went over carefully all the criticisms on the General's administration, in order to see if he could help him. His conclusion was that Frémont was isolating himself too much from men who were interested in the same cause, and so did not know what was going on in the very matter he was dealing with. That Mr. Lincoln hit the very root of Frémont's difficulty is evident from the testimony of the men who were with the General in Missouri at the time. Colonel George E. Leighton of St. Louis, who became provost-marshal of the city in the fall of 1861, says:

Frémont isolated himself, and, unlike Grant, Halleck, and others of like rank, was unapproachable. When Halleck came here to assume command and called on Frémont, he was accompanied simply by a member of his staff; but when Frémont returned the call, he rode down with great pomp and ceremony, escorted by his staff and bodyguard of one hundred men.

General B. G. Farrar recounts his experience in trying to get an important message to Frémont from General Lyon, who was at Springfield with an insufficient force:

Word was returned to me that General Frémont was very busy, that he could not receive the dispatch then, and re-

quested me to call in the afternoon. I called in the afternoon, and was again told that General Frémont was very busy. Three days passed before I succeeded in obtaining an audience with Frémont. As commander of the department Frémont assumed all the prerogatives of an absolute ruler. The approach to his headquarters was through a long line of guards. There were guards at the corners of the streets, guards at the gate, guards at the door, guards at the entrance to the adjutant-general's office, and a whole regiment of troops in the barracks adjacent to his headquarters. I saw his order making Colonel Harding of the home guard a brigadier-general. This was done without consultation with the President and without authority of law. The Czar of Russia could hardly be more absolute in his authority than Frémont assumed to be at St. Louis. . . . Frémont never asked Washington for authority to do a thing. While at St. Louis Frémont visited nobody, so far as I know. When he went forth from his headquarters at all he went under the escort of his bodyguard and a staff brilliantly uniformed. When he removed his headquarters to Jefferson City he went on a special train, with all the trappings and surroundings of a royal potentate. . . ."

Having made up his mind what Frémont's fault was, Lincoln asked General David Hunter to go to Missouri. "He [Frémont] needs to have at his side a man of large experience," he wrote to Hunter. "Will you not, for me, take that place? Your rank is one grade too high to be ordered to it, but will you not serve the country and oblige me by taking it voluntarily?" At the same time that Hunter was asked to go to Frémont's relief, Postmaster-General Blair went to St. Louis, with the President's approbation, to talk with the General "as a friend."

In the meantime, Lincoln's letter of September 2 had reached Frémont. After a few days the General replied that he wished the President himself would make the general order modifying the clause of the proclamation which referred to the liberation of slaves. This letter he sent by his wife,

Jessie Benton Frémont, a woman of ambition and great energy of character. "While Frémont was in command of the Department, Mrs. Frémont was the real chief of staff," says Col. Geo. F. Leighton. "She was a woman of strong personality, having inherited much of the brains and force of character which distinguished her father, Senator Benton." "Mrs. Frémont was much like her father," says Judge Clover of St. Louis. "She was intellectual and possessed great force of will." She started East deeply indignant that Mr. Lincoln should ask her husband to modify his proclamation. When she reached Washington, she learned that Mr. Blair had gone to St. Louis. Jumping to the conclusion that it was with an order to remove her husband she hastened to Mr. Lincoln. It was midnight, but the President gave her an audience. Without waiting for an explanation, she violently charged him with sending an enemy to Missouri, to look into Frémont's case and threatening that if Frémont desired to he could set up a government for himself. "I had to exercise all the rude tact I have to avoid quarrelling with her," said Mr. Lincoln afterwards.

The day after this interview Lincoln sent the order modifying the clause as Frémont had requested. When this was made public, a perfect storm of denunciation broke over the President. The whole North felt outraged. There was talk of impeaching Lincoln and of replacing him with Frémont. Great newspapers criticised his action, warning him to learn whither he was tending. Influential men in all professions spoke bitterly of his action. "How many times," wrote James Russell Lowell to Miss Norton, "are we to save Kentucky and lose our self-respect?" The hardest of these criticisms for Lincoln to bear were those from his old friends in Illinois, nearly all of whom supported Frémont.

The general supposition throughout the country at this time was that the President would remove Frémont. He,

however, had no idea of dismissing the General on the ground of the proclamation, and he hoped, as he wrote to Senator Browning, that no real necessity existed for it on any ground. The hope was vain. Disasters to the Union army, the evident result of the General's inefficiency, and positive proofs of corruption in the management of the financial affairs of the Department, multiplied. In spite of expostulations and threats from Frémont's supporters, Lincoln decided to remove him. But he would not do it without giving him a last chance. In sending the order for his removal and the appointment of General Hunter to his place, he directed that it was not to be delivered if there was any evidence that Frémont had fought, or was about to fight, a battle. It was not only Lincoln's sense of justice which led him to give a last chance to Frémont; it was a part of that far-seeing political wisdom of his—not to displace men until they themselves had demonstrated their unfitness so clearly that even their friends must finally agree that he had done right.

It was generally believed in Missouri that Frémont had decided to receive no bearer of despatches, so that if the President did remove him he could say that he never had been informed of the fact. General Curtis, to whom Lincoln forwarded his order by his friend Leonard Swett knowing this, sent copies by three separate messengers to Frémont's headquarters. The one who delivered it first was General T. I. McKenny, now of Olympia, Washington. His story, written out for this work, is good evidence of the pass to which things had come in Frémont's department:

About three o'clock at night, on October 27, 1861, I think it was, I was awakened by a messenger stating that General Curtis desired to see me at his headquarters. I found Leonard Swett there with the General, who informed me that he had an important message from the President to be taken

to General Frémont, then in the field, it not being known where. I was shown the order that I was to convey, that General Frémont was relieved of his command of the Department of the West and General Hunter placed temporarily in his stead. Aside from this, I had special instructions which I understood were Mr. Lincoln's own—

1st. If General Frémont had fought and gained a decided victory—not a mere skirmish—then not to deliver the message.

2d. If he was in the immediate presence of the enemy and about to begin a battle, not to deliver it.

3d. If neither of these conditions prevailed, to deliver it and to make it known immediately, as it was thought that he was determined to receive no orders superseding him.

I immediately went to St. Louis, waked up a second-hand dealer in clothing and fitted myself out as a Southern planter, and then took the train for Rolla, Missouri. There I secured horses and a guide, and about two o'clock at night rode rapidly south in the direction of Springfield, Missouri, where I expected to find Frémont. I rode this distance principally in the night, passing through the small rebel towns at a very rapid gait. About 117 miles from Rolla I reached the outer cordon of Frémont's pickets. Here I had difficulty getting through the lines, as the instructions to the guard were very stringent. When I finally got in, there being no immediate prospects of a battle, I straightway made my way to Frémont's headquarters, where I met the officer of the day, who told me that I could not see General Frémont, but that he would introduce me to his chief of staff, Colonel Eaton. The latter also told me that I could not see the General; but if I would make my business known to him, that he would communicate it to Frémont. This I positively refused to do. He returned to Frémont, and communicated what I had said, but it had no effect. Late in the evening, however, I was hunted up by Colonel Eaton, who took me to General Frémont's office.

The General was sitting at the end of quite a long table facing the door by which I entered. I never can forget the appearance of the man as he sat there, with his piercing eye, and his hair parted in the middle. I ripped from my coat

lining the document, which had been sewed in there, and handed the same to him, which he nervously took and opened. He glanced at the superscription, and then at the signature at the bottom, not looking at the contents. A frown came over his brow, and he slammed the paper down on the table, and said, "Sir, how did you get admission into my lines?" I told him that I had come in as a messenger bearing information from the rebel lines. He waved me out, saying, "That will do for the present."

I had orders to make the contents of the document known as soon as delivered. The first man I met was General Sturgis, to whom I gave the information. I was then overtaken by the chief of staff, Eaton, who said that General Frémont was much disappointed with the communication, as he had thought that I had information from the rebel forces, and that he requested me not to make the message known for the present.

I then told Colonel Eaton that I had important despatches for General Hunter and would like transportation and a guide, and he remarked that he would consult General Frémont on the subject. He soon returned with the information that Frémont did not know where General Hunter was and refused to give me any transportation, saying that he had been relieved and had no authority to do so. I then went to a self-styled "Colonel" Richardson, who had a kind of marauding company, having been mustered into neither the United States service nor the State service. I gave him to understand that I would use my influence to have him regularly mustered into the service, whereupon he furnished me with a good horse and a pretended guide. I could get no information in regard to Hunter, but there was a rumor that he was making towards Springfield and was in the region of a place called Buffalo. I therefore started out about eleven o'clock at night on the Buffalo road, and, after great difficulty, reached the town about daylight, but I could hear nothing of General Hunter. I left my guide, and started out on the road to Bolivar. I had not proceeded more than twelve or fifteen miles before I heard the rattling of horses' hoofs in my rear. I stopped to await their arrival, and found that they were a small detachment of Hunter's troops to in-

form me that the General had just arrived in Buffalo, whereupon I retraced my steps and delivered my message. General Hunter immediately started for Springfield in a four-mule ambulance. Arriving, he issued a short proclamation assuming command. It was thought by some that this would produce a mutiny among the foreign element. It did not.

It was not in the West alone that the President was suffering disappointment. At the time when Frémont received the order retiring him, McClellan had been in command of the Army of the Potomac for over three months. His force had been increased until it numbered over 168,000 men. He had given night and day to organizing and drilling this army, and it seemed to those who watched him that he now had a force as near ready for battle as an army could be made ready by anything save actual fighting. Mr. Lincoln had fully sympathized with his young general's desire to prepare the Army of the Potomac for the field, and he had given him repeated proofs of his support. McClellan, however, seems to have felt from the first that Mr. Lincoln's kindness was merely a personal recognition of his own military genius. He had conceived the idea that it was he alone who was to save the country. "The people call upon me to save the country," he wrote to his wife. "I must save it, and cannot respect anything that is in the way." The President's suggestions, when they did not agree with his own ideas, he regarded as an interference. Thus he imagined that the enemy had three or four times his force, and when the President doubted this he complained, "The President cannot or will not see the true state of affairs." Lincoln, in his anxiety to know the details of the work in the army, went frequently to McClellan's headquarters. That the President had a serious purpose in these visits McClellan did not see. "I enclose a card just received from 'A. Lincoln,'" he wrote to his wife one day; "it shows too much deference to be seen

outside." In another letter to Mrs. McClellan he spoke of being "interrupted" by the President and Secretary Seward, "who had nothing in particular to say," and again of concealing himself "to dodge all enemies in shape of 'browsing' Presidents, etc." His plans he kept to himself, and when at the Cabinet meetings, to which he was constantly summoned, military matters were discussed, he seemed to feel that it was an encroachment on his special business. "I am becoming daily more disgusted with this Administration —perfectly sick of it," he wrote early in October; and a few days later, "I was obliged to attend a meeting of the Cabinet at 8 P. M. and was bored and annoyed. There are some of the greatest geese in the Cabinet I have ever seen—enough to tax the patience of Job."

As time went on, he began to show plainly his contempt of the President, frequently allowing him to wait in the anteroom of his house while he transacted business with others. This discourtesy was so open that McClellan's staff noticed it, and newspaper correspondents commented on it. The President was too keen not to see the situation, but he was strong enough to ignore it. It was a battle he wanted from McClellan, not deference. "I will hold McClellan's horse, if he will only bring us success," he said one day.

While there was a pretty general disposition at first to give McClellan time to organize, before the first three months were up Lincoln was receiving impatient comments on the inactivity of the army. This impatience became anger and dismay when, on October 21, the battle of Ball's Bluff ended in defeat. To Mr. Lincoln, Ball's Bluff was more than a military reverse. By it he suffered a terrible personal loss, in the death of one of his oldest and dearest friends, Colonel E. D. Baker. Mr. C. C. Coffin, who was at McClellan's headquarters when Lincoln received the news of his friend's death, tells of the scene:

The afternoon was lovely, a rare October day. I learned early in the day that something was going on up the Potomac, near Edwards's Ferry, by the troops under General Banks. What was going on no one knew, even at McClellan's headquarters. It was near sunset when, accompanied by a fellow correspondent, I went to ascertain what was taking place. We entered the ante-room, and sent our cards to General McClellan. While we waited, President Lincoln came in; he recognized us, reached out his hand, spoke of the beauty of the afternoon,while waiting for the return of the young lieutenant who had gone to announce his arrival. The lines were deeper in the President's face than when I saw him in his own home, the cheeks more sunken. They had lines of care and anxiety. For eighteen months he had borne a burden such as has fallen upon few men, a burden as weighty as that which rested upon the great law-giver of Israel.

"Please to walk this way," said the lieutenant. We could hear the click of the telegraph in the adjoining room and low conversation between the President and General McClellan, succeeded by silence, excepting the click, click of the instrument, which went on with its tale of disaster. Five minutes passed, and then Mr. Lincoln, unattended, with bowed head and tears rolling down his furrowed cheeks, his face pale and wan, his breast heaving with emotion, passed through the room. He almost fell as he stepped into the street. We sprang involuntarily from our seats to render assistance, but he did not fall. With both hands pressed upon his heart, he walked down the street, not returning the salute of the sentinel pacing his beat before the door.

General McClellan came a moment later. "I have not much news to tell you," he said. "There has been a movement of troops across the Potomac at Edwards's Ferry, under General Stone, and Colonel Baker is reported killed. That is about all I can give you."

After Ball's Bluff, the grumbling against inaction in the Army of the Potomac increased until public attention was suddenly distracted by an incident of an entirely new character, and one which changed the discouragement of the

North over the repeated military failures and the inactivity of the army into exultation. This incident was the capture, on November 8, by Captain Wilkes, of the warship *San Jacinto,* of two Confederate commissioners to Europe, Messrs. Mason and Slidell. Captain Wilkes had stopped the British royal mail packet *Trent,* one day out from Havana, and taken the envoys with their secretaries from her. It was not until November 15 that Captain Wilkes put into Hampton Roads and sent the Navy Department word of his performance.

Of course the message was immediately carried to Mr. Lincoln at the White House. A few hours later Benson J. Lossing called on the President, and the conversation turned on the news. Mr. Lincoln did not hesitate to express himself.

"I fear the traitors will prove to be white elephants," he said. "We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting by theory and practice on the right to do exactly what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain shall now protest against the act and demand their release, we must give them up, apologize for the act as a violation of our doctrines, and thus forever bind her over to keep the peace in relation to neutrals, and so acknowledge that she has been wrong for sixty years."

As time went on, Lincoln had every reason to suppose that there was an overwhelming sentiment in the country in favor of keeping the commissioners and braving the wrath of England. Banquets and presentations, votes of thanks by the cabinet and by Congress, all kinds of ovation, were accorded Captain Wilkes. During this excitement the President held his peace, not even referring to the affair in the message he sent to Congress on December 3. He was studying the situation. Before his inauguration he had said one day to

Seward: "One part of the business, Governor Seward, I think I shall leave almost entirely in your hands; that is, the dealing with those foreign nations and their governments." Now, however, he saw that he must exercise a controlling influence. The person with whom he seems to have discussed the case most seriously was Charles Sumner, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Sumner was one of the few men who had from the first believed in Lincoln. Although himself most radical, he had been appreciative of the President-elect's point of view, and had seen in the interval between the election and the inauguration that, as a matter of fact, Lincoln was, on the essential question at issue, "firm as a chain of steel." Thus, on January 26, he wrote, "Mr. Lincoln is perfectly firm. He says that the Republican party shall not, with his assent, become a mere sucked egg, all shell and no meat, the principle all sucked out." Although himself a most polished, even a fastidious gentleman, Sumner never allowed Lincoln's homely ways to hide his great qualities. He gave him a respect and esteem at the start which others accorded only after experience. The Senator was most tactful, too, in his dealings with Mrs. Lincoln, and soon had a firm footing in the household. That he was proud of this, perhaps a little boastful, there is no doubt. Lincoln himself appreciated this. "Sumner thinks he runs me," he said, with an amused twinkle, one day. After the seizure of Mason and Slidell, the President talked over the question frequently with Sumner, who had, from the receipt of the news, declared, "We shall have to give them up."

Early in December, word reached America that England was getting ready to go to war in case we did not give up the commissioners. The news aroused the deepest indignation, and the determination to keep Mason and Slidell was for a brief time stronger than ever. Common sense was doing its

work, however. Gradually the people began to feel that, after all, the commissioners were "white elephants." On December 10, the Administration received a notice that the only redress which would satisfy the British government would be "the liberation of the four gentlemen," and their delivery to the British minister at Washington and a "suitable apology for the aggression which had been committed." In the days which followed, while the Secretary of State was preparing the reply to be submitted, Sumner was much with the President. We have the Senator's assurance that the President was applying his mind carefully to the answer, so that it would be essentially his. It is evident from Sumner's letter, that Lincoln was resolved that there should be no war with England. Thus, on December 23, Sumner wrote to John Bright, with whom he maintained a regular correspondence: "Your letter and also Cobden's I showed at once to the President, who is much moved and astonished by the English intelligence. He is essentially honest and pacific in disposition, with a natural slowness. Yesterday he said to me, 'There will be no war unless England is bent upon having one.'"

It was on Christmas day that Seward finally had his answer ready. It granted the British demand as to the surrender of the prisoners, though it refused an apology—on the ground that Captain Wilkes had acted without orders. After the paper had been discussed by the Cabinet, but no decision reached, and all of the members but Seward had departed, Lincoln said, according to Mr. Frederick Seward: "Governor Seward, you will go on, of course, preparing your answer, which, as I understand it, will state the reasons why they ought to be given up. Now, I have a mind to try my hand at stating the reasons why they ought *not* to be given up. We will compare the points on each side."

But the next day, after a Cabinet meeting at which it was

decided finally to return the prisoners, when Secretary Seward said to the President: "You thought you might frame an argument for the other side?" Mr. Lincoln smiled, and shook his head. "I found I could not make an argument that would satisfy my own mind," he said; "and that proved to me your ground was the right one."

Lincoln's first conclusion was the real ground on which the Administration submitted: "We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals." The country grimaced at the conclusion. It was to many, as Chase declared it was to him, "gall and wormwood." Lowell's clever verse expressed best the popular feeling:

> We give the critters back, John,
> Cos Abram thought 't was right;
> It warn't your bullyin' clack, John,
> Provokin' us to fight.

The decision raised Mr. Lincoln immeasurably in the view of thoughtful men, especially in England.

"If reparation were made at all, of which few of us felt more than a hope," wrote John Stuart Mill, "we thought that it would be made obviously as a concession to prudence, not to principle. We thought that there would have been truckling to the newspaper editors and supposed fire-eaters who were crying out for retaining the prisoners at all hazards. . . . We expected everything, in short, which would have been weak, and timid, and paltry. The only thing which no one seemed to expect is what has actually happened. Mr. Lincoln's government have done none of these things. Like honest men they have said in direct terms that our demand was right; that they yielded to it because it was just; that if they themselves had received the same treatment, they would have demanded the same reparation; and if what seemed to be the American side of the question was not the just side, they would be on the side of justice, happy as they were to find after their resolution had been taken, that it was also the side which America had formerly

defended. Is there any one capable of a moral judgment or feeling, who will say that his opinion of America and American statesmen is not raised by such an act, done on such grounds?"

Before the *Trent* affair was settled another matter came up to distract attention from McClellan's inactivity and to harass Mr. Lincoln. This time it was trouble in his official family. Mr. Cameron, his Secretary of War, had become even more obnoxious to the public than Frémont or McClellan. Like Seward, Cameron had been one of Lincoln's competitors at the Chicago Convention in 1860. His appointment to the Cabinet, however, had not been made, like Seward's, because of his eminent fitness. It was the one case in which a bargain had been made before the nomination. This bargain was not struck by Mr. Lincoln, but by his friend and ablest supporter at Chicago, Judge David Davis. There was so general a belief in the country that Cameron was corrupt in his political methods that, when it was noised that he was to be one of Lincoln's Cabinet, a strong effort was made to displace him. It succeeded temporarily, the President-elect withdrawing the promise of appointment after he had made it. Such pressure was brought to bear, however, that in the end he made Judge Davis's pledge good and gave the portfolio of war to Mr. Cameron.

The unsatisfactory preliminaries to the appointment must have affected the relations of the two men. Cameron's enemies watched his Administration with sharp eyes, and not long after the war began commenced to bring accusations of maladministration to the President. The gist of them was that contracts were awarded for politics' sake and that the government was being swindled wholesale.

"We hear," said the "Evening Post" in June, "of knapsacks glued together and falling to pieces after the first day's use; of uniform coats which are torn to pieces with a slight

pull of the fingers; of blankets too small if they were good, and too poor stuff to be useful if they were of the proper size, shoes, caps, trousers, coats—all are too often of such poor material that before a soldier is ready for service he must be clothed anew."

Soon after the extra session of Congress assembled in July, a committee was appointed to look into the contracts the War Department was making. This committee spent the entire fall in investigation, sitting in Boston, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and other cities. Its report, when made public in December, proved to be full of sensational developments. The Secretary of War, it was clear, had not been able to manage his department without great scandal. If he himself were incorruptible he was not big enough for his duties and inefficiency in affairs of State, particularly in time of war, is criminal. The matter was too serious a one for Mr. Lincoln to overlook. The public would not have permitted him to overlook it, even if he had been so disposed.

Cameron not only brought the President into trouble by his bad management of the business of his office; but in his December report he attempted, without Mr. Lincoln's knowledge, to advocate a measure in direct opposition to what he knew to be the President's policy in regard to slavery. This measure declared in favor of arming the slaves and employing "their services against the rebels, under proper military regulation, discipline, and command." This report was mailed before the President saw it; but by his order it was promptly withdrawn from circulation as soon as he knew its contents.

Nine months of this sort of experience convinced Lincoln that Cameron was not the man for the place, and he took advantage of a remark which the Secretary, probably in a moment of depression, had made to him more than once, that he wanted a "change of position," and made him Minister

to Russia. It is plain from Lincoln's letters to Cameron at this time and his subsequent treatment of him that, with characteristic fair-dealing, he took into consideration all the enormous difficulties which beset the Secretary of War. He saw what the public refused to see, that "to bring the War Department up to the standard of the times, and work an army of 500,000 with machinery adapted to a peace establishment of 12,000, is no easy task." He had all this in mind evidently when he relieved Cameron, for he assured him of his personal regard and of his confidence in his "ability, patriotism, and fidelity to public trust." A few months later he did still more for Cameron. In April, 1862, Congress passed a bill censuring the Secretary for certain of his transactions. The President soon after sent the body a message in which he claimed that he himself was equally responsible in the transaction for which Cameron was being censured:

I should be wanting equally in candor and in justice if I should leave the censure expressed in this resolution to rest exclusively or chiefly upon Mr. Cameron. The same sentiment is unanimously entertained by the heads of departments who participated in the proceedings which the House of Representatives has censured. It is due to Mr. Cameron to say that, although he fully approved the proceedings, they were not moved nor suggested by himself, and that not only the President but all the other heads of departments, were at least equally responsible with him for whatever error, wrong, or fault was committed in the premises.

In deciding on a successor to Mr. Cameron, the President showed more clearly, perhaps, than in any other appointment of his whole presidential career how far above personal resentments he was in his public dealings. He chose a man who six years before, at a time when consideration from a superior meant a great deal to him, had subjected him to a slight, and this for no other apparent reason than that he was rude in dress and unpolished in manner; a man who, besides,

had been his most scornful, even vituperative, critic since his election. This man was Edwin M. Stanton, a lawyer of ability, integrity, and loyalty, who had won the confidence of the North by his patriotic services in Buchanan's Cabinet from December, 1860, to the close of his administration, March 4, 1861. Lincoln's first encounter with Stanton had been in 1855, in his first case of importance outside of Illinois. He was a counsel in the case with Stanton, but the latter ignored him so openly that all those associated with them observed it.

Lincoln next knew of Stanton when, as President-elect, he watched from Springfield the deplorable dissolution of the federal authority which Buchanan allowed, and he must have felt profoundly grateful for the new vigor and determination which were infused into the Administration when, in December, 1860, Stanton and Holt entered Buchanan's Cabinet. After Lincoln was inaugurated he had nothing to do with Stanton. In fact he did not see him from the 4th of March, 1861, to the day he handed him his commission as Secretary of War, in January, 1862. Stanton, however, was watching Lincoln's administration closely, even disdainfully. After Bull Run he wrote to ex-President Buchanan: "The imbecility of this Administration culminated in that catastrophe; an irretrievable misfortune and national disgrace, never to be forgotten, are to be added to the ruin of all peaceful pursuits and national bankrputcy, as the result of Lincoln's 'running the machine' for five months."

McClellan, who saw much of Stanton in the fall of 1861, says:

The most disagreeable thing about him was the extreme virulence with which he abused the President, the Administration, and the Republican party. He carried this to such an extent that I was often shocked by it. He never spoke of the President in any other way than as the "original gorilla," and often said that Du Chaillu was a fool to wander

all the way to Africa in search of what he could so easily have found at Springfield, Illinois. Nothing could have been more bitter than his words and manner always were when speaking of the Administration and the Republican party. He never gave them credit for honesty or patriotism, and very seldom for any ability.

Lincoln, if he knew of this abuse, which is improbable, regarded it no more seriously than he did McClellan's slights. He knew Stanton was able and loyal; that the country believed in him; that he would administer the department with honesty and energy. Furthermore, he knew of the intimacy between McClellan and Stanton, and as he saw the great necessity of harmonious relations between the head of the War Department and the commander of the army, he was more in favor of Stanton. The appointment was generally regarded as a wise selection, and in many quarters aroused enthusiasm.

"No man ever entered upon the discharge of the most momentous public duties under more favorable auspices, so far as public confidence and support can create such auspices," said the New York "Tribune." "In all the loyal States there has not been one dissent from the general acclamation which hailed Mr. Stanton's appointment as eminently wise and happy. The simple truth is that Mr. Stanton was not appointed to and does not accept the War Department in support of any program or policy whatever, but the unqualified and uncompromising vindication of the authority and integrity of the Union. Whatever views he may entertain respecting slavery will not be allowed to swerve him one hair from the line of paramount and single-hearted devotion to the National cause. If slavery or anti-slavery shall at any time be found obstructing or impeding the nation in its efforts to crush out this monstrous rebellion, he will walk straight on in the path of duty though that path should lead him over or through the impediment and insure its annihilation."

Stanton took hold of his task with the aggressive earnestness and energy of his nature. He made open war on contractors. He did not hesitate to let McClellan know that he expected an advance. As he wrote Charles A. Dana on January 22:

"This army has got to fight or run away; and while men are striving nobly in the West, the champagne and oysters on the Potomac must be stopped."

It is evident from this same letter to Mr. Dana that he had undertaken to discipline even the President for his habit of joking:

"I feel a deep, *earnest* feeling growing up around me. We have no jokes or trivialities, but all with whom I act show that they are in dead earnest."

The excitement over the *Trent* affair, the investigation of the War Department, the dismissal of Cameron, and the appointment of Stanton, diverted public criticism from McClellan; but never for long at a time. The inactivity of the Army of the Potomac had become the subject of gibes and sneers. Lincoln stood by the General. He had promised him all the "sense and information" he had, and he gave it. When Congress opened on December 3, he took the opportunity to remind the country that the General was its own choice, as well as his, and that support was due him:

Since your last adjournment Lieutenant-General Scott has retired from the head of the army. . . . With the retirement of General Scott came the executive duty of appointing in his stead a general-in-chief of the army. It is a fortunate circumstance that neither in council nor country was there, so far as I know, any difference of opinion as to the proper person to be selected. The retiring chief repeatedly expressed his judgment in favor of General McClellan for the position, and in this the nation seemed to give a unanimous concurrence. The designation of General Mc-

Clellan is, therefore, in considerable degree the selection of the country as well as of the executive, and hence there is better reason to hope there will be given him the confidence and cordial support thus by fair implication promised, and without which he cannot with so full efficiency serve the country.

At this time Lincoln had every reason to believe that McClellan would soon move. The General certainly was assuring the few persons whom he condescended to take into his confidence to that effect. The Hon. Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, Speaker of the House, says that very soon after Congress came together, the members began to comment on the number of board barracks that were going up around Washington.

"It seemed to them," says Mr. Grow, "that there were a great many more than were necessary for hospital and reserve purposes. The roads at that time in Virginia were excellent; everybody was eager for an advance. Congressmen observed the barracks with dismay; it looked as if McClellan was going into winter quarters. Finally several of them came to me and stated their anxiety, asking what it meant. 'Well, gentlemen,' I said, 'I don't know what it means, but I will ask the General,' so I went to McClellan, who received me kindly, and told him how all the members were feeling, and asked him if the army was really going into winter quarters. 'No, no,' McClellan said, 'I have no intention of putting the army into winter quarters; I mean the campaign shall be short, sharp, and decisive.' He began explaining his plan to me, but I interrupted him, saying I did not desire to know his plan; I preferred not to know it, in fact. If I could assure members of Congress that the army was going to move, it was all that was necessary. I returned with his assurance that there would soon be an advance. Weeks went on, however, without the promised advance; nor did the Army of the Potomac leave the vicinity of Washington until Mr. Lincoln issued the special orders compelling McClellan to move."

Lincoln continued to defend McClellan. "We've got to stand by the General," he told his visitors. "I suppose," he added dubiously, "he knows his business." But loyal as he was he too was losing patience. His friend, Mr. Arnold, tells how the President said one day to a friend of General McClellan, doubtless with the expectation that it would be repeated: "McClellan's tardiness reminds me of a man in Illinois, whose attorney was not sufficiently aggressive. The client knew a few law phrases, and finally, after waiting until his patience was exhausted by the non-action of his counsel, he sprang to his feet and exclaimed: "Why don't you go at him with a *Fi fa demurrer, a capias, a surrebutter,* or a *ne exeat,* or something, and not stand there like a *nudum pactum,* or a *non est?*"

Later he made a remark which was repeated up and down the country: "If General McClellan does not want to use the army for some days, I should like to borrow it and see if it cannot be made to do something."

Towards the end of December McClellan fell ill. The long-expected advance was out of the question until he recovered. Distracted at this idea, the President for the first time asserted himself as commander-in-chief of the forces of the United States. Heretofore he had used his military authority principally in raising men and commissioning officers; campaigns he had left to the generals. It had been to be sure largely because of his urgency that the Battle of Bull Run had been fought. After Bull Run he had prepared a "Memorandum of Military Policy Suggested by the Bull Run Defeat," and may have thought the War Department was working according to this. When he relieved Frémont he had offered his successor a few suggestions but he had been careful to add:

"Knowing how hazardous it is to bind down a distant commander in the field to specific lines and operations, as so

much always depends on a knowledge of localities and passing events, it is intended therefore, to leave a considerable margin for the exercise of your judgment and discretion."

Early in December, weary with waiting for McClellan, he had sent him a list of questions concerning the Potomac campaign. They were broad hints, but in no sense orders and McClellan hardly gave them a second thought. Nicolay and Hay say that after keeping them ten days, the General returned them with hurried answers in pencil. Certainly he was in no degree influenced by them. And this was about all the military authority—"interference" some critics called it,—that the President had exercised up to the time McClellan was shut up by fever.

Now, however, he undertook to learn direct from the officers the condition things were in, and if it was not possible to get some work out of the army somewhere along the line. Particularly was he anxious that East Tennessee be relieved. The Unionists there were "being hanged and driven to despair," there was danger of them going over to the South. All this the generals knew. Lincoln telegraphed Halleck, then in command of the Western Department, and Buell, in charge of the forces in Kentucky, asking if they were "in concert" and urging a movement which he supposed to have been decided upon some time before. The replies he received disappointed and distressed him. There seemed to be no more idea of advancing in the West than in the East. The plans he supposed settled his generals now controverted. He could get no promise of action, no precise information. "Delay is ruining us," he wrote to Buell on January 7, "and it is indispensable for me to have something definite." And yet, convinced though he was that his plans were practicable, he would not make them into orders.

"For my own views," he wrote Buell on January 13, "I have not offered and do not offer them as orders; and while

I am glad to have them respectfully considered, I would blame you to follow them contrary to your own clear judgment, unless I should put them in the form of orders. As to General McClellan's views, you understand your duty in regard to them better than I do. With this preliminary, I state my general idea of this war to be that we have the greater numbers, and the enemy has greater facility of concentrating forces upon points of collision; that we must fail unless we can find some way of making our advantage an overmatch for his; and that this can only be done by menacing him with superior forces at different points at the same time, so that we can safely attack one or both if he makes no change; and if he weakens one to strengthen the other, forbear to attack the strengthened one, but seize and hold the weakened one, gaining so much."

This hesitancy about exercising his military authority, came from Lincoln's consciousness that he knew next to nothing of the business of fighting. When he saw that those supposed to know something of the science did nothing, he resolved to learn the subject himself as thoroughly as he could. "He gave himself, night and day, to the study of the military situation," say Nicolay and Hay, his secretaries. "He read a large number of strategical works. He pored over the reports from the various departments and districts of the field of war. He held long conferences with eminent generals and admirals, and astonished them by the extent of his special knowledge and the keen intelligence of his questions."

By the time McClellan was about again, Lincoln had learned enough of the situation to convince him that the Army of the Potomac could and must advance, and on January 27, he, for the first time, used his power as commander-in-chief of the army, and issued his General War Order No. 1.

Ordered, That the 22d day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of all the land and naval forces of

the United States against the insurgent forces. That especially the army at and about Fortress Monroe; the Army of the Potomac; the Army of Western Virginia; the army near Munfordville, Kentucky; the army and flotilla at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, be ready to move on that day.

That all other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given.

That the heads of departments, and especially the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, with all their subordinates, and the general-in-chief, with all other commanders and subordinates of land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for prompt execution of this order.

Four days later the President issued his first Special War Order, applying exclusively to the Army of the Potomac.

Ordered, That all the disposable force of the Army of the Potomac, after providing safely for the defense of Washington, be formed into an expedition for the immediate object of seizing and occupying a point upon the railroad southwestward of what is known as Manassas Junction, all details to be in the discretion of the commander-in-chief, and the expedition to move before or on the 22d day of February next.

For a time after these orders were issued there was general hopefulness in the country. The newspapers that had been attacking the President now praised him for taking hold of the army. "It has infused new spirit into every one since the President appears to take such an interest in our operations," wrote an officer from the West, to the "Tribune."

The hope of an advance in the East was short-lived. McClellan was not willing to carry out the plan for the campaign which the President approved. Mr. Lincoln believed that the Army of the Potomac should move directly across

Virginia against Richmond, while McClellan contended that the safe and brilliant movement was down the Chesapeake, up the Rapahannock to Urbana and across land to the York river. There was much controversy between the friends of the two plans. It ended in the President giving up to his general. Of one thing he felt certain, McClellan would not work as well on a plan in which he did not believe as on one to which he was committed, and as success was what Mr. Lincoln wanted he finally consented to the Chesapeake route. It brought bitter criticism upon him, especially from the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War. Common sense told men that the direct overland route to Richmond was the better. The President, they said, was afraid of his general-in-chief.

While harassed by this inaction and obstinacy of McClellan's, Mr. Lincoln was plunged into a bitter private sorrow. Early in February his two younger boys, Willie and Tad, as they were familiarly known, fell sick. In the tenderness of his nature Mr. Lincoln could never see suffering of any kind without a passionate desire to relieve it. Especially was he moved by the distress of a child. Indeed his love for children had already become familiar to the whole public by the touching little stories which visitors had brought away from the White House and which crept into the newspapers:

"At the reception Saturday afternoon, at the President's house," wrote a correspondent of the "Independent," "many persons noticed three little girls, poorly dressed, the children of some mechanic or laboring man, who had followed the visitors into the White House to gratify their curiosity. They passed around from room to room, and were hastening through the reception room, with some trepidation, when the President called to them, 'Little girls, are you going to pass me without shaking hands?' Then he bent his tall, awkward form down, and shook each little girl warmly

by the hand. Everybody in the apartment was spellbound by the incident, so simple in itself."

Many men and women now living who were children in Washington at this time recall the President's gentleness to them. Mr. Frank P. Blair of Chicago, says:

During the war my grandfather, Francis P. Blair, Sr., lived at Silver Springs, north of Washington, seven miles from the White House. It was a magnificent place of four or five hundred acres, with an extensive lawn in the rear of the house. The grandchildren gathered there frequently. There were eight or ten of us, our ages ranging from eight to twelve years. Although I was but seven or eight years of age, Mr. Lincoln's visits were of such importance to us boys as to leave a clear impression on my memory. He drove out to the place quite frequently. We boys, for hours at a time, played "town ball" on the vast lawn, and Mr. Lincoln would join ardently in the sport. I remember vividly how he ran with the children; how long were his strides, and how far his coat-tails stuck out behind, and how we tried to hit him with the ball, as he ran the bases. He entered into the spirit of the play as completely as any of us, and we invariably hailed his coming with delight.

The protecting sympathy and tenderness the President extended to all children became a passionate affection for his own. Willie and Tad had always been privileged beings at the White House, and their pranks and companionship undoubtedly did much to relieve the tremendous strain the President was suffering. Many visitors who saw him with the lads at this period have recorded their impressions:—how keenly he enjoyed the children; how indulgent and affectionate he was with them. Again and again he related their sayings, sometimes even to grave delegations. Thus Moncure Conway tells of going to see the President with a commission which wanted to "talk over the situation." The President met them, laughing like a boy. The White House

was in a state of feverish excitement, he said; one of his boys had come in that morning to tell him that the cat had kittens, and now the other had just announced that the dog had puppies.

When both the children fell ill; when he saw them suffering, and when it became evident, as it finally did, that Willie, the elder of the two, would die, the President's anguish was intense. He would slip away from visitors and Cabinet at every opportunity, to go to the sick room, and during the last four or five days of Willie's life, when the child was suffering terribly and lay in an unbroken delirium, Mr. Lincoln shared with the nurse the nightly vigils at the bedside. When Willie finally died, on February 20, the President was so prostrated that it was feared by many of his friends that he would succumb entirely to his grief. Many public duties he undoubtedly did neglect. Indeed, a month after Willie's death, we find him apologizing for delay to answer a letter because of a "domestic affliction."

If one consults the records of the day, however, it is evident that Mr. Lincoln did try to attend to public duties even in the worst of this trial. Only two days after the funeral, on February 23, he held a Cabinet meeting, and the day following that, a correspondent wrote to the New York "Evening Post:"

Mr. Lincoln seems to have entirely recovered his health, and is again at his ordinary duties, spending, not infrequently, eighteen out of the twenty-four hours upon the affairs of the nation. He is frequently called up three and four times in a night to receive important messages from the West. Since his late bereavement he looks sad and careworn, but is in very good health again.

There is ample evidence that in this crushing grief the President sought earnestly to find what consolation the Christian religion might have for him. It was the first ex-

perience of his life, so far as we know, which drove him to look outside of his own mind and heart for help to endure a personal grief. It was the first time in his life when he had not been sufficient for his own experience. Religion up to this time had been an intellectual interest. The Christian dogma had been taught him as a child and all his life he had been accustomed to hearing every phase of human conduct and experience tested by the precepts of the Bible as they were interpreted by the more or less illiterate church of the West. For a short period of his life when he was about twenty-five years of age, it is certain that he revolted against the Christian system, and even went so far as to prepare a pamphlet against it. The manuscript of this work was destroyed by his friend, Samuel Hill. This period of doubt passed, and though there is nothing to show that Mr. Lincoln returned to the literal interpretation of Christianity which he had been taught, and though he never joined any religious sect, it is certain that he regarded the Bible and the church with deep reverence. He was a regular attendant upon religious services, and one has only to read his letters and speeches to realize that his literary style and his moral point of view were both formed by the Bible.

It was after his election to the presidency that we begin to find evidences that Mr. Lincoln held to the belief that the affairs of men are in the keeping of a Divine Being who hears and answers prayer and who is to be trusted to bring about the final triumph of the right. He publicly acknowledged such a faith when he bade his Springfield friends good-by in February, 1861. In his first inaugural address, he told the country that the difficulty between North and South could be adjusted in "the best way," by "intelligence, patriotism, Christianity and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land." When he

was obliged to summon a Congress to provide means for a civil war, he started them forth on their duties with the words, "Let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts." In August, 1861, he issued a proclamation for a National Fast Day which is most impressive for its reverential spirit:

"Whereas it is fit and becoming in all people, at all times, to acknowledge and revere the supreme government of God; to bow in humble submission to His chastisements; to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions, in the full conviction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and to pray with all fervency and contrition for the pardon of their past offenses, and for a blessing upon their present and prospective action:

"And whereas when our own beloved country, once, by the blessing of God, united, prosperous, and happy, is now afflicted with faction and civil war, it is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this terrible visitation, and in sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation, and as individuals, to humble ourselves before Him, and to pray for His mercy—to pray that we may be spared further punishment, though most justly deserved; that our arms may be blessed and made effectual for the re-establishment of law, order, and peace throughout the wide extent of our country; and that the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty, earned under His guidance and blessing by the labors and sufferings of our fathers, may be restored in all its original excellence."

But it is not until after the death of his son that we begin to find evidence that Mr. Lincoln was making a personal test of Christianity. Broken by his anxiety for the country, wounded nigh to death by his loss, he felt that he must have a support outside of himself; that from some source he must draw new courage. Could he find the help he needed in the Christian faith? From this time on he was seen often with the Bible in his hand, and he is known to have prayed fre-

quently. His personal relation to God occupied his mind much. He was deeply concerned to know, as he told a visiting delegation once, not whether the Lord was on his side, but whether he was on the Lord's side. Henceforth, one of the most real influences in Abraham Lincoln's life and conduct is his dependence upon a personal God.

CHAPTER XXV

LINCOLN AND EMANCIPATION

The 22d of February was the day that the President had set for an advance of the army but it was evident to both the Administration and the country that the Army of the Potomac would not be ready to move then. Nor could anybody find from McClellan when he would move. The muttering of the country began again. Committee after committee waited on the President. He did his best to assure them that he was doing all he could. He pointed out to them how time and patience, as well as men and money, were needed in war, and he argued that, above all, he must not be interfered with. It was at this time that he used his striking illustration of Blondin. Some gentlemen from the West called at the White House one day, excited and troubled about some of the commissions or omissions of the Administration. The President heard them patiently, and then replied: "Gentlemen, suppose all the property you were worth was in gold and you had put it in the hands of Blondin, to carry across the Niagara river on a rope. Would you shake the cable or keep shouting at him, 'Blondin, stand up a little straighter—Blondin, stoop a little more—go a little faster—lean a little more to the north—lean a little more to the south?' No, you would hold your breath as well as your tongue, and keep your hands off until he was safe over. The Government is carrying an enormous weight. Untold treasures are in their hands; they are doing the very best they can. Don't badger them. Keep silence, and we will get you safe across."

One of the most insistent of the many bodies which beset him was the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, appointed the December before. Aggressive and patriotic, these gentlemen were determined the army should move. But it was not until March that they became convinced that anything would be done. One day early in that month, Senator Chandler, of Michigan, a member of the committee, met George W. Julian. He was in high glee. "Old Abe is mad," he said to Julian, "and the war will now go on."

Whether it would or not remained to be seen but it was soon evident to everybody that the President was going to make another effort to have it go on for on March 8 he issued General War Orders Nos. II and III, the first dividing the Army of the Potomac into four army corps and the second directing that the move against Richmond by the way of the Chesapeake bay should begin as early as the 18th of March and that the general-in-chief should be responsible for its moving as early as that day. In this order Lincoln made the important stipulation that General McClellan should make no change of base without leaving in and about Washington a force sufficient to guarantee its safety.

When Lincoln issued the above orders which were finally to drive McClellan from his quarters around Washington, the war against the South had been going on for nearly a year. In that time the North had succeeded in gathering and equipping an army of about 630,000 men, but this army had not so far materially changed the line of hostilities between the North and South, save in the West, where Kentucky and Northern Missouri had been cleared of most of the Confederates. A navy had been collected but beyond establishing a partial blockade of the ports of the Confederacy it had done little. The ineffectiveness of the great effort the North had made was charged naturally to the inefficiency of

the Administration. Mr. Lincoln was ignorant and weak, men said, else he would have found generals who would have won victories. A large part of the North, the anti-slavery element, bitterly denounced him, because he had taken no action as yet in regard to slavery. They would have him employ the slaves in the armies, free those which escaped.

Lincoln understood clearly how strong a weapon against the South the arming and emancipating of the slaves might be, but he did not want to use it. Throughout his entire political life he had disclaimed any desire to meddle with slavery in the States where the Constitution recognized it. He had undertaken the war not to free men but to preserve the Union. Moreover he feared that the least interference with slavery would drive from him those States lying between the North and South, which believed in the institution and yet were for the Union.

Already they had given him much substantial aid. He hoped to win them entirely to the North. Emancipation would surely make that hope vain. It was largely because he wished to keep their support that when as had happened twice already in his year of service, prominent subordinates had attempted to help the Northern cause by measures affecting slavery, he had promptly annulled their orders.

Yet now for many weeks he had been coming to the conclusion that he must do something with this weapon. He must do it to throw confusion into the South, with whom so far the military advantage lay, to win sympathy from Europe, which, exasperated by the suffering which the failure to get cotton caused the people, was threatening to recognize the Southern Confederacy as an independent nation, above all to disarm the enemy in his rear—the dissatisfied faction of his own supporters who were beginning to threaten that if he did not free and arm the slaves he could

get his hands on, they would stop the arms and money they were sending him to carry on the war.

All through the fall of 1861 he was examining this weapon of emancipation, much as a man in a desperate situation might a dagger which he did not want to unsheath, but feared he might be forced to. He was seeking a way to use it, if the time came when he must, that would accomplish all the ends he had in view and still would not drive the Border States from the Union. The plan upon which he finally settled was a simple and just, though impracticable one—he would ask Congress to set aside money gradually to buy and free the negroes in those States that could be persuaded to give up the institution of slavery. Having freed the slaves, he proposed that Congress should colonize them in territory bought for the purpose.

According to Charles Sumner, Mr. Lincoln had this plan of compensated emancipation well developed by December 1, 1861. The Senator reached Washington on that day, and went in the evening to call on the President. Together they talked over the annual message, which was to be sent to Congress on the 3d. Mr. Sumner was disappointed that it said nothing about emancipation. He had been speaking in Massachusetts on "Emancipation our Best Weapon," and he ardently desired that the President use the weapon. The President explained the plan he had developed, and Mr. Sumner urged that it be presented at once. Mr. Lincoln declined to agree to this, but as he rose to say good-by to his visitor, he remarked:

"Well, Mr. Sumner, the only difference between you and me on this subject is a difference of a month or six weeks in time."

"Mr. President," said Mr. Sumner, "if that is the only difference between us, I will not say another word to you about it till the long-set time you name has passed by."

"Nor should I have done so," continues Sumner in telling

the story, "but about a fortnight after, when I was with him, he introduced the subject himself, asked my opinion on some details of his plan, and told me where it labored his mind. At that time he had the hope that some one of the Border States, Delaware, perhaps, if nothing better could be got, might be brought to make a proposition which could be made use of as the initiation to hitch the whole thing to. * He was in correspondence with some persons at a distance with this view, but he did not consult a person in Washington, excepting Mr. Chase and Mr. Blair, and myself. Seward knew nothing about it."

Sumner could not keep still, after this, about the plan. Almost every time he saw Lincoln he put in a word. Thus, when the *Trent* affair was up, he took occasion to read the President a little lecture:

"Now, Mr. President," he said, "if you had done your duty earlier in the slavery matter, you would not have this trouble on you. Now you have no friends, or the country has none, because it has no policy upon slavery. The country has no friends in Europe, excepting isolated persons. England is not a friend. France is not. But if you had commenced your policy about slavery, this thing could and would have come and gone and would have given you no anxiety. . . .

"Every time I saw him I spoke to him about it, and I saw him every two or three days. One day I said to him, I remember, 'I want you to make Congress a New Year's present of your plan. But he had some reason still for delay. He was in correspondence with Kentucky, there was a Mr. Speed in Kentucky to whom he was writing; he read me one of his letters once, and he thought he should hear from there how people would be affected by such a plan.' At one

*The conversation between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Sumner here reported is taken from an unpublished manuscript courteously put at my disposal by the Rev. Edward Everett Hale. Mr. Hale visited Washington in April, 1862, and called on Mr. Sumner, who entertained him with the history of the President's Message on Compensated Emancipation. He made the full notes of the story, which are here published.

time I thought he would send in the message on New Year's Day; and I said something about what a glorious thing it would be. But he stopped me in a moment; 'Don't say a word about that,' he said; 'I know very well that the name which is connected with this act will never be forgotten.' Well, there was one delay and another, but I always spoke to him till one day in January he said sadly that he had been up all night with his sick child. I was very much touched, and I resolved that I would say nothing to the President about this or any other business if I could help it till that child was well or dead. And I did not. . . . I had never said a word to him again about it—one morning here, before I had breakfast, before I was up indeed, both his secretaries came over to say that he wanted to see me as soon as I could see him. I dressed at once, and went over. 'I want to read you my message,' he said; 'I want to know how you like it. I am going to send it in to-day.'"

It was on the morning of March 6, 1862, that Mr. Lincoln sent for Mr. Sumner to read his message. A few hours later, when the Senator reached the Capitol, he went to the Senate desk to see if the President had carried out his intention. Yes, the document was there.

As Mr. Sumner's history of the message given to Dr. Hale shows, Mr. Lincoln for months quietly prepared the way for his plan. One of his most adroit preparatory manœuvers, and one of which Mr. Sumner evidently knew nothing, was performed in New York City, through the Hon. Carl Schurz, who at that time was the American Minister to Spain.*

Mr. Schurz, who had gone to Madrid in 1861, had not been long there before he concluded that there would be great danger of the Southern Confederacy being recognized by France and England unless the aspect of the situation was

*The following accounts of Mr. Schurz's interviews with Mr. Lincoln and the plan the two gentlemen arranged for introducing the subject of compensated emancipation to the public was given me by Mr. Schurz himself. The manuscript has been corrected by him, and is published with his permission.

speedily changed, either by a decisive military success, or by some evidence on the part of the Administration that the war was to end in the destruction of slavery. If the conflict were put on this high moral plane, Mr. Schurz believed the sympathy of the people in Europe would be so strong with the North that interference in favor of the South would be impossible. All of this he wrote to Mr. Seward in September of 1861, but he received no reply to his letter other than a formal acknowledgment.

After a little time, Mr. Schurz wrote to Mr. Lincoln, saying that he wanted to come to Washington and personally represent to the Administration what he conceived to be the true nature of public opinion in Europe. Mr. Lincoln wrote to him to come, and he arrived in Washington in the last week of January, 1862. He went at once to the White House, where he was received by the President, who listened attentively to his arguments, the same he had made by letter to Mr. Seward. When he had finished his presentation of the case, Mr. Lincoln said that he was inclined to accept that view, but that he was not sure that the public sentiment of the country was ripe for such a policy. It had to be educated up to it. Would not Mr. Schurz go to New York and talk the matter over with their friends, some of whom he named?

Mr. Schurz assented, and a few days afterwards reported to Mr. Lincoln that the organization of an "Emancipation Society," for the purpose of agitating the idea, had been started in New York, and that a public meeting would be held at the Cooper Union on March 6.

"That's it; that is the very thing," Mr. Lincoln replied. "You must make a speech at this meeting. Go home and prepare it. When you have got it outlined, bring it to me, and I will see what you are going to say."

Mr. Schurz did so, and in a few days submitted to Mr.

Lincoln the skeleton of his argument on "Emancipation as a Peace Measure."

"That is the right thing to say," the President declared after reading it, "And, remember, you may hear from me on the same day."

On March 6 the speech was delivered, as had been arranged, before an audience which packed Cooper Union. No more logical and eloquent appeal for emancipation was made in all the war period. The audience received it with repeated cheers, and when Mr. Schurz sat down "the applause shook the hall," if we may believe the reporter of the New York "Tribune." Just as the meeting was adjourning, Mr. Schurz did hear from Mr. Lincoln, a copy of the message given that afternoon to Congress being placed in his hands. He at once read it to the audience, which, already thoroughly aroused, now broke out again in a "tremendous burst of applause."

The first effect of the message was to unite the radical supporters of Mr. Lincoln with the more moderate. "We are all brought by the common-sense message," said "Harper's Weekly," "upon the same platform. The cannon shot against Fort Sumter effected three-fourths of our political lines; the President's message has wiped out the remaining fourth." But to Mr. Lincoln's keen disappointment, the Border State representatives in Congress let the proposition pass in silence. He saw one and another of them but not a word did they say of the message. The President stood this for four days, then he summoned them to the White House to explain his position.

The talk was long and entirely friendly. The President said he did not pretend to disguise his anti-slavery feeling; that he thought slavery was wrong, and should continue to think so; but that was not the question they had to deal with. Slavery existed, and that, too, as well by the act of the

North as of the South; and in any scheme to get rid of it, the North as well as the South was morally bound to do its full and equal share. He thought the institution wrong and ought never to have existed; but yet he recognized the rights of property which had grown out of it, and would respect those rights as fully as similar rights in any other property; that property can exist, and does legally exist. He thought such a law wrong, but the rights of property resulting must be respected; he would get rid of the odious law, not by violating the right, but by encouraging the proposition, and offering inducements to give it up. The representatives assured Mr. Lincoln before they left that they believed him to be "moved by a high patriotism and sincere devotion to the happiness and glory of his country;" they promised him to "consider respectfully" the suggestions he had made, but it must have been evident to the President that they either had little sympathy with his plan or that they believed it would receive no favor from their constituents.

Although the message failed to arouse the Border States, it did stimulate the anti-slavery party in Congress to complete several practical measures. Acts of Congress were rapidly approved forbidding the army and navy to aid in the return of fugitive slaves, recognizing the independence of Liberia and Haiti, and completing a treaty with Great Britain to suppress slave trading. One of the most interesting of the acts which followed close on the message of March 6 emancipated *immediately* all the slaves in the District of Columbia. One million dollars was appropriated by Congress to pay the loyal slaveholders of the District for their loss, and $100,000 was set aside to pay the expenses of such negroes as desired to emigrate to Haiti or Liberia.

The Administration was now committed to compensated emancipation, but there were many radicals who grew restive at the slow working of the measure. They began again to call

for more trenchant use of the weapon in Lincoln's hand. The commander of the Department of the South, General David Hunter, in his zeal, even issued an order declaring:

Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible; the persons in . . . Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free.

Mr. Lincoln's first knowledge of this proclamation came to him through the newspapers. He at once pronounced it void. At the same time he made a declaration at which a man less courageous, one less confident in his own policy, would have hesitated—a declaration of his intention that no one but himself should decide how the weapon in his hand was to be used:

I further make known that, whether it be competent for me, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free, and whether, at any time, in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field.

It was a public display of a trait of Mr. Lincoln of which the country had already several examples. He made his own decisions, trusted his own judgment as a final authority.

In revoking Hunter's order, Mr. Lincoln again appealed to the Border States to accept his plan of buying and freeing their slaves, and as if to warn them that the unauthorized step which Hunter had dared to take might yet be forced upon the administration, he said:

I do not argue—I beseech you to make arguments for yourselves. You cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you a calm and enlarged considera-

tion of them, ranging, if it may be, far above personal and partizan politics. This proposal makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproaches upon any. It acts not the Pharisee. The change it contemplates would come gently as the dews of heaven, not rending or wrecking anything. Will you not embrace it? So much good has not been done, by one effort, in all past time, as in the providence of God it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it.

The President's treatment of Hunter's order dissatisfied many who had been temporarily quieted by the message of March 6. Again they besought the President to emancipate and arm the slaves. The authority and magnitude of the demand became such that Mr. Lincoln fairly staggered under it. Still he would not yield. He could not give up yet his hope of a more peaceful and just system of emancipation. But while he could not do what was asked of him, he seems to have felt that it was possible that he was wrong, and that another man in his place would be able to see the way. In a remarkable interview held early in the summer with several Republican senators, among whom was the Honorable James Harlan, of Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, the President actually offered to resign and let Mr. Hamlin, the Vice-President, initiate the policy.*

The senators went to Mr. Lincoln to urge upon him the paramount importance of mustering slaves into the Union army. They argued that as the war was really to free the negro, it was only fair that he should take his part in working out his own salvation. Mr. Lincoln listened thoughtfully to every argument, and then replied:

Gentlemen, I have put thousands of muskets into the hands of loyal citizens of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Western

* The account of this interview was given to me by the late Hon. James Harlan of Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, and was corrected by him before his death.

North Carolina. They have said they could defend themselves, if they had guns. I have given them the guns. Now, these men do not believe in mustering in the negro. If I do it, these thousands of muskets will be turned against us. We should lose more than we should gain.

The gentlemen urged other considerations, among them that it was not improbable that Europe, which was anti-slavery in sentiment, but yet sympathized with the notion of a Southern Confederacy, preferring two nations to one in this country, would persuade the South to free her slaves in consideration of recognition. After they had exhausted every argument, Mr. Lincoln answered them.

"Gentlemen," he said, "I can't do it. I can't see it as you do. You may be right, and I may be wrong; but I'll tell you what I can do; I can resign in favor of Mr. Hamlin. Perhaps Mr. Hamlin could do it."

The senators, amazed at this proposition, "which," says Senator Harlan, "was made with the greatest seriousness, and of which not one of us doubted the sincerity," hastened to assure the President that they could not consider such a step on his part; that he stood where he could see all around the horizon; that he must do what he thought right; that, in any event, he must not resign.

If at this juncture McClellan had given the President a successful campaign it is probable that the radicals would have been more patient with the measure for compensated emancipation. The Border States seeing an overthrow of the Confederacy imminent might have hastened to avail themselves of it. But McClellan was giving the President little but anxiety. He had undertaken the long deferred campaign against Richmond at the beginning of April, but had begun by disobeying the clause of the President's order which instructed him to leave enough troops around Wash-

ington to insure its safety. When he arrived in the Peninsula he began to fortify his position as if he were entering on a defensive instead of offensive campaign, and it was only after repeated probing by the administration that he advanced. Every mile of his route towards Richmond was made only after urgent pleas and orders from the President and the Secretary of War and bitter complaints and forebodings on his part.

Mr. Lincoln's attitude towards his general-in-chief in this trying spring of 1862 is a most interesting study. He evidently had determined to exercise fully his power as commander-in-chief, to force McClellan into battle and to compel him to carry out the orders which he as chief executive gave. Conscious of his ignorance of military matters, and anxious to avoid errors, he exhausted every source of information on the army and its movements. Secretary Stanton himself did not watch the Army of the Potomac more closely in this campaign than did President Lincoln. Indeed, of the three rooms occupied by the military telegraph office at the War Department, one came to be called the "President's room," so much time did he spend there. During a part of the war, this room was occupied by Mr. A. B. Chandler, now the President of the Postal Telegraph Union.

"I was alone in this room," says Mr. Chandler, "and as few people came there to see me, Mr. Lincoln could be alone. He used to say, 'I come here to escape my persecutors. Many people call and say they want to see me for only a minute. That means, if I can hear their story and grant their request in a minute, it will be enough.' My desk was a large one with a flat top, and intended to be occupied on both sides. Mr. Lincoln ordinarily took the chair opposite mine at this desk. Here he would read over the telegrams received for the several heads of departments, all of which came to this office. It was the practice to make three

copies of all messages received, to whomsoever addressed. One of these was what we called a 'hard copy,' and was saved for the records of the War Department; two carbon copies were made by stylus, on yellow tissue paper, one for Mr. Lincoln and one for Mr. Stanton. Mr. Lincoln's copies were kept in what we called the 'President's drawer' of the 'cipher desk.' He would come in at any time of the night or day, and go at once to this drawer, and take out a file of the telegrams, and begin at the top to read them. His position in running over these telegrams was sometimes very curious. He had a habit of sitting frequently on the edge of his chair, with his right knee dragged down to the floor. I remember a curious expression of his when he got to the bottom of the new telegrams and began on those that he had read before. It was, 'Well, I guess I have got down to the raisins.' The first two or three times he said this he made no explanation, and I did not ask one. But one day, after the remark, he looked up under his eyebrows at me with a funny twinkle in his eyes, and said, 'I used to know a little girl out West who sometimes was inclined to eat too much. One day she ate a good many more raisins than she ought to, and followed them up with a quantity of other goodies. It made her very sick. After a time the raisins began to come. She gasped and looked at her mother, and said, "Well, I will be better now, I guess, for I have got down to the raisins."'

"Mr. Lincoln frequently wrote telegrams in my office. His method of composition was slow and laborious. It was evident that he thought out what he was going to say before he touched his pen to the paper. He would sit looking out of the window, his left elbow on the table, his hand scratching his temple, his lips moving, and frequently he spoke the sentence aloud or in a half whisper. After he was satisfied that he had the proper expression, he would write it

out. If one examines the originals of Mr. Lincoln's telegrams and letters, he will find very few erasures and very little interlining. This was because he had them definitely in his mind before writing them. In this he was the exact opposite of Mr. Stanton, who wrote with feverish haste, often scratching out words, and interlining frequently. Sometimes he would seize a sheet which he had filled, and impatiently tear it into pieces."

It is only necessary to examine the letters and telegrams Lincoln sent to McClellan in the campaign of 1862 to appreciate the rare patience and still rarer firmness and commonsense with which he was handling his hard military problems. As has been said McClellan began his campaign by disobeying the order to leave Washington fully guarded. The President learning this kept back a corps of the army. McClellan protested but Lincoln would not give up the force. "Do you really think," he wrote McClellan, "I should permit the line from Richmond via Manassas Junction to this city to be entirely open, except what resistance could be presented by less than 20,000 unorganized troops? This is a question which the country will not allow me to evade."

When it became evident that McClellan did not intend to advance promptly the President made a vigorous protest.

Once more let me tell you it is indispensable to you that you should strike a blow. I am powerless to help this. You will do me the justice to remember I always insisted that going down the bay in search of a field, instead of fighting at or near Manassas, was only shifting and not surmounting a difficulty; that we would find the same enemy and the same or equal intrenchments at either place. The country will not fail to note—is noting now—that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated.

I beg to assure you that I have never written you or spoken to you in greater kindness of feeling than now, nor

with a fuller purpose to sustain you, so far as in my most anxious judgment I consistently can; but you must act.

McClellan did act but with such caution that he consumed all of April and most of May in working his way up the Peninsula to Richmond. Every move he made was under protest that his force was too small and with incessant complaint that the administration was not supporting him. Towards the end of May when an extra corps, that of McDowell, was on its way to Richmond to co-operate with McClellan the administration became alarmed by a threatened attack on Washington and recalled McDowell. The most intelligent military authorities criticise Mr. Lincoln for withdrawing this force just as the attack on the Confederates was at last to be made. It was an honest enough error on the President's part. He believed the capital in danger. —He knew too that with 98,000 men present for duty McClellan ought to be able to take care of himself. The general-in-chief, however, regarded this interference with his plans as added proof that the President did not intend to support him, wished his overthrow, and he sent the bitterest complaints to Washington. The President wrote him on May 25 full explanations of the situation as he saw it, and begged him to go ahead and do his best.

"If McDowell's force was now beyond our reach," he said, "we should be utterly helpless. Apprehension of something like this, and no unwillingness to sustain you, has always been my reason for withholding McDowell's force from you. Please understand this, and do the best you can with the force you have."

Three days later, after the fighting for Richmond had really begun, he telegraphed him, "I am painfully impressed with the importance of the struggle before you, and shall aid you all I can consistently with my view of due regard to all points."

And through the month following while McClellan was engaged in the series of battles by which he hoped to get into Richmond the President did sustain him in every way he could, sending him troops as he could get them, counselling him whenever he saw a weak point, encouraging him after every engagement. The result of the campaign was disastrous. After working his way to within a few miles of Richmond McClellan was forced back to the James River, and in a burst of bitter despair he telegraphed to Washington:

If, at this instant I could dispose of ten thousand fresh men, I could gain a victory to-morrow. I know that a few thousand more men would have changed this battle from a defeat to a victory. As it is, the Government must not and cannot hold me responsible for the result. I feel too earnestly to-night; I have seen too many dead and wounded comrades to feel otherwise than that the Government has not sustained this army. If you do not do so now, the game is lost. If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or to any person in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army.

"Save your army at all events," Lincoln replied. "Will send re-enforcements as fast as we can. Of course they cannot reach you to-day, to-morrow, or next day. I have not said you were ungenerous for saying you needed re-enforcements. I thought you were ungenerous in assuming that I did not send them as fast as I could. I feel any misfortune to you and your army quite as keenly as you feel it yourself. If you have had a drawn battle, or a repulse, it is the price we pay for the enemy not being in Washington. We protected Washington, and the enemy concentrated on you. Had we stripped Washington, he would have been upon us before the troops could have gotten to you. Less than a week ago you notified us that re-enforcements were leaving Richmond to come in front of us. It is the nature of the case, and neither you nor the Government are to blame. Please tell at once the present condition and aspect of things."

This was June 28. Mr. Lincoln hoped that McClellan might yet recover his position, but the developments of the next two days showed him the campaign was a failure. It was a terrible blow. "When the Peninsula campaign terminated suddenly at Harrison's Landing," Mr. Lincoln said once to a friend who asked him if he had ever despaired of his country, "I was as nearly inconsolable as I could be and live."

But he neither faltered nor blamed. He bade McClellan "find a place of security and wait and rest and repair," to maintain his ground if he could but to save his army even if he fell back to Fort Monroe. And he went to work to bring light into about as black a situation as a President ever faced. His first duty was to ask men of the sorrowing and angry country. The War Department had felt so certain in April when McClellan started on the Peninsula campaign that it had force enough to finish the war that recruiting had been stopped. Now a new call was made for 300,000 men for three years.

In order to learn the situation of the Army of the Potomac more exactly than he could from McClellan's despairing and often contradictory letters and telegrams, the President himself went to Harrison's Landing in July. The first and important result of his visit was that it fixed his determination to do something immediately about emancipation. He was convinced that he was not going to have any military encouragement very soon to offer to his supporters. But he must show them some fruits of their efforts, some sign that the men and money they were pouring into "McClellan's trap," as it was beginning to be called, were not lost; that the new call for 300,000 men just made was not to be in vain. There was nothing to do but use emancipation in some way as a weapon, and he summoned the representatives of the Border States to the White House on July

12, and made an earnest, almost passionate, appeal to them to consider his proposition of March 6.

It is doubtful if Mr. Lincoln in all his political career ever had a measure more at heart than his scheme for compensated emancipation. Isaac Arnold, who knew him well, says that rarely, if ever, was he known to manifest such solicitude as over this measure.

"Oh, how I wish the Border States would accept my proposition," he said to Arnold and Owen Lovejoy one day; "then you, Lovejoy, and you, Arnold, and all of us would not have lived in vain. The labor of your life, Lovejoy, would be crowned with success. You would live to see the end of slavery."

"Could you have seen the President," wrote Sumner once to a friend, "as it was my privilege often—while he was considering the great questions on which he has already acted—the invitation to emancipation in the States, emancipation in the District of Columbia, and the acknowledgment of the independence of Haiti and Liberia, even your zeal would have been satisfied.

"*His whole soul was occupied, especially by the first proposition, which was peculiarly his own.* In familiar intercourse with him, I remember nothing more touching than the earnestness and completeness with which he embraced this idea. To his mind it was just and beneficent, while it promised the sure end of slavery."

His address to the Border States representatives on July 12 is full of this conviction:

"I intend no reproach or complaint," he said, "when I assure you that, in my opinion, if you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual-emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended. And the plan therein proposed is yet one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. Let the States which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly that in no event will the States you represent ever join their proposed confederacy, and they

cannot much longer maintain the contest. But you cannot divest them of their hope to ultimately have you with them so long as you show a determination to perpetuate the institution within your own States. Beat them at elections, as you have overwhelmingly done, and, nothing daunted, they still claim you as their own. You and I know what the lever of their power is. Break that lever before their faces, and they can shake you no more forever. * * * If the war continues long, as it must if the object be not sooner attained, the institution in your States will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion—by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. How much better for you and for your people to take the step which at once shortens the war and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event! * * *

"I am pressed with a difficulty not yet mentioned—one which threatens division among those who, united, are none too strong. An instance of it is known to you. General Hunter is an honest man. He was, and I hope still is, my friend. I valued him none the less for his agreeing with me in the general wish that all men everywhere could be free. He proclaimed all men free within certain States, and I repudiated the proclamation. He expected more good and less harm from the measure than I could believe would follow. Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offense, to many whose support the country cannot afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask, you can relieve me, and, much more, can relieve the country, in this important point. * * * Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action to bring it speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of government is saved to the world, its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated, and its happy future fully assured and rendered inconceivably grand. To you, more than to any others, the privilege is given to assure that happiness and swell that grandeur, and to link your own names therewith forever."

The majority of the Border States representatives rejected the President's appeal. Now Mr. Lincoln never came to a point in his public career where he did not have a card in reserve, and he never lacked the courage to play it if he was forced to. "I must save this government if possible," he said, now that his best efforts for compensated emancipation were vain. "What I cannot do, of course I will not do; but it may as well be understood, once for all, that I shall not surrender this game leaving any available card unplayed." Just what his "available card" was he hinted to Secretary Seward and Secretary Welles the very day after his interview with the Border State representatives. He had about come to the conclusion, he said, that he must free the slaves by proclamation or be himself subdued. "It was a new departure for the President," writes Welles in his Diary, "for until this time, in all our previous interviews whenever the question of emancipation or the mitigation of slavery had been in any way alluded to, he had been prompt and emphatic in denouncing any interference by the General Government with the institution."

It was probably very shortly after this that a curious interview took place between Mr. Lincoln and his old and intimate friend, Leonard Swett, which shows admirably the struggle in the President's mind. The story of this interview Mr. Swett used to tell often to his friends, and it is through the courtesy of one of them, the Hon. Peter Stenger Grosscup, United States Circuit Judge for the Seventh Judicial Circuit, that it is given here:

One day, during the course of the war, when Mr. Swett was at his home in Bloomington, Illinois, he received a telegram asking him to come immediately to the President. The second morning afterwards found him in Washington. Thinking that something unusual was at hand, he went to the White House upon arrival and before eating his break-

fast. Mr. Lincoln asked him immediately into the cabinet room, and after making a few inquiries about mutual friends in Illinois, pulled up his chair to a little cabinet of drawers. Swett, of course, awaited in silence the developments. Opening a drawer, Lincoln took out a manuscript which, he said, was a letter from William Lloyd Garrison, and which he proceeded to read. It proved to be an eloquent and passionate appeal for the immediate emancipation of the slaves. It recalled the devotion and loyalty of the North, but pointed out, with something like peremptoriness, that unless some step was taken to cut out by the roots the institution of slavery, the expectations of the North would be disappointed and its ardor correspondingly cooled. It went into the moral wrong that lay at the bottom of the war, and insisted that the war could not, in the nature of things, be ended until the wrong was at an end. The letter throughout was entirely characteristic of Garrison.

Laying it back without comment, Mr. Lincoln took out another, which proved to be a letter from Garrett Davis, of Kentucky. It, too, treated of emancipation; but from the Border State point of view. It carefully balanced the martial and moral forces of the North and South, and pointed out that if the Border States, now divided almost equally between the belligerents, were thrown unitedly to the South, a conclusion of the war favorable to the North would be next to impossible. It then proceeded to recall that slavery was an institution of these Border States with which their people had grown familiar and upon which much of their prosperity was founded. Emancipation, especially emancipation without compensation, would, in that quarter of the country, be looked upon as a stab at prosperity and a departure from the original Union purposes of the war. It begged Mr. Lincoln to be led by the Northern abolition sentiment into no such irretrievable mistake.

Laying this back, Mr. Lincoln took out another, which turned out to be from a then prominent Swiss statesman, a sympathizer with the Northern cause, but whose name I cannot recall. It breathed all through an ardent wish that the North should succeed. The writer's purpose was to call attention to the foreign situation and the importance of pre-

venting foreign intervention. This he summed up as follows: The governing classes in England and Napoleon in France were favorable to the success of the Confederacy. They were looking for a pretext upon which to base some sort of intervention. Anything that, in international law, would justify intervention would be quickly utilized. A situation justifying such a pretext must be avoided. The writer then pointed out that from the earliest times any interference with the enemy's slaves had been regarded as a cruel and improper expedient; that emancipation would be represented to Europe as an equivalent of inciting slave insurrection; and would be seized upon, the writer feared, as a pretext upon which forcibly to intervene. The letter went over the whole foreign situation, bringing out clearly this phase of the consequences of emancipation.

Laying this letter back, the President turned to Mr. Swett, and without a word of inquiry, took up himself the subject of emancipation, not only in the phases pointed out by the letters just read, but every possible phase and consequence under which it could be considered. For more than an hour he debated the situation, first the one side and then the other of every question arising. His manner did not indicate that he wished to impress his views *upon* his hearer, but rather to weigh and examine them for his own enlightenment *in the presence* of his hearer. It was an instance of stating conclusions aloud, not that they might convince another, or be combatted by him, but that the speaker might see for himself how they looked when taken out of the region of mere reflection and embodied in words. The President's deliverance was so judicial, and so free from the quality of debate, or appearance of a wish to convince, that Mr. Swett felt himself to be, not so much a hearer of Lincoln's views, as a witness of the President's mental operations. The President was simply framing his thought in words, under the eye of his friend, that he might clear up his own mind.

When the President concluded, he asked for no comment, and made no inquiry, but rising, expressed his hope that Mr. Swett would get home safely, and entrusted to him some messages to their mutual friends. The audience thus ended.

Mr. Lincoln had, no doubt, determined at this time on the Emancipation Proclamation, perhaps had in his drawer, with the letters he read to Mr. Swett, the original draft which, as he afterwards told Mr. F. B. Carpenter, he prepared "without consultation with or the knowledge of the cabinet." It was on July 22 that, "after much anxious thought," he called a cabinet meeting to consider the subject.

"I said to the cabinet," the President told Mr. Carpenter, "that I had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject matter of a proclamation before them; suggestions as to which would be in order, after they had heard it read."

The gist of the proclamation which Mr. Lincoln read to the cabinet was that, on the first day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or States wherein the constitutional authority of the United States should not then be practically recognized, should "then, thenceforward, and forever be free." He called his proclamation "a fit and necessary military measure," and prefaced it by declaring that, upon the next meeting of Congress, he intended to recommend a practical plan for giving pecuniary aid to any State which by that time had adopted "gradual abolishment of slavery."

The cabinet seems to have been bewildered by the sweeping proposition of the President. Nicolay and Hay quote a memorandum of the meeting made by Secretary Stanton, in which he says: "The measure goes beyond anything I have recommended." Mr. Lincoln, in his account of the meeting given to Mr. Carpenter, says:

Various suggestions were offered. . . . Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already fully an-

ticipated and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. He said in substance: "Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help; the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government." His idea was that it would be considered our last *shriek,* on the retreat. "Now," continued Mr. Seward, "while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue, until you can give it to the country, supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war!" The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thoughts upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory. From time to time I added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, anxiously waiting the progress of events.

The victory Mr. Lincoln waited for was long in coming. Disaster after disaster followed. Each new delay or failure only intensified the radical anti-slavery sentiment, and made the demand for emancipation more emphatic and threatening. The culmination of this dissatisfaction was an editorial signed by Horace Greeley, and printed in the New York "Tribune" of August 20, entitled, "The Prayer of 20,000,000"—two columns of bitter and unjust accusations and complaints addressed to Mr. Lincoln, charging him with "ignoring, disregarding, and defying" the laws already enacted against slavery.

Mr. Lincoln answered it in a letter published in the "National Intelligencer" of Washington, August 23. The document challenges comparison with the State papers of all times and all countries for its lucidity and its courage:

"As to the policy I 'seem to be pursuing,' as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

"I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be 'the Union as it was.' If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

The "Greeley faction," as it was called, not only pursued Mr. Lincoln through the press and pulpit and platform; an unending procession of radical committees and delegations waited upon him. Although he was at that time, by his own statement, adding or changing a line of the proclamation, "touching it up here and there," he seems almost invariably to have argued against emancipation with those who came to plead for it.

It was only his way of making his own judgment surer. He was not only examining every possible reason for emancipation; he was steadily seeking reasons against it. Perhaps the best illustration preserved to us of this intellectual method of Lincoln is his argument to a committee from the

religious denominations of Chicago, who came to him on September 13:

"What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel States? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that that law has caused a single slave to come over to us. And suppose they could be induced by a proclamation of freedom from me to throw themselves upon us, what should we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? * * If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels; and, indeed, thus far we have not had arms enough to equip our white troops. I will mention another thing, though it meets only your scorn and contempt. There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Union armies from the border slave States. It would be a serious matter if, in consequence of a proclamation such as you desire, they should go over to the rebels."

The letter to Greeley, the passages quoted above, show how the President was wrestling with the question. There is every indication indeed that an incessant struggle against violent emancipation went on in his mind through the whole period. He regarded it as the act of a dictator. He feared it might be fruitless. He dreaded the injury it would do the loyal people of the South. He said once to a friend, that he had prayed to the Almighty to save him from the necessity of it, adopting the very language of Christ, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me." In talking to the

Chicago delegations, who argued that it was God's will that he issue a proclamation, he said:

"I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal His will to others on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed He would reveal it directly to me; for unless I am more deceived in myself than I often am, it is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter. And if I can learn what it is, I will do it. These are not, however, the days of miracles, and I suppose it will be granted that I am not to expect a direct revelation. I must study the plain physical facts of the case, ascertain what is possible, and learn what appears to be wise and right."

The victory for which the President waited came on September 17. McClellan had followed Lee into Maryland, and defeated him. The President was at his summer house at the Soldier's Home when the news of Antietam reached him. He at once finished the second draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, and called the cabinet together on Monday, September 22. Secretary Chase recorded in his diary, that day, how, after reading his colleagues a chapter from Artemus Ward, the President "took a graver tone." The words he spoke, as recorded by Mr. Chase, are a remarkable revelation of the man's feelings at the moment:

I have, as you are aware, thought a great deal about the relation of this war to slavery; and you all remember that, several weeks ago, I read to you an order I had prepared on this subject, which, on account of objections made by some of you, was not issued. Ever since then my mind has been much occupied with this subject, and I have thought, all along, that the time for acting on it might probably come. I think the time has come now. I wish it was a better time. I wish that we were in a better condition. The action of the army against the rebels has not been quite what I should have best liked. But they have been driven out of Maryland,

and Pennsylvania is no longer in danger of invasion. When the rebel army was at Frederick, I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a proclamation of emancipation, such as I thought most likely to be useful. I said nothing to any one, but I made the promise to myself and [hesitating a little] to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfil that promise. I have got you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself. This, I say without intending anything but respect for any one of you. But I already know the views of each on this question. They have been heretofore expressed, and I have considered them as thoroughly and carefully as I can. What I have written is that which my reflections have determined me to say. If there is anything in the expressions I use, or in any minor matter, which any of you thinks had best be changed, I shall be glad to receive the suggestions. One other observation I will make. I know very well that many others might, in this matter as in others, do better than I can; and if I was satisfied that the public confidence was more fully possessed by any one of them than by me, and knew of any constitutional way in which he could be put in my place, he should have it. I would gladly yield it to him. But, though I believe that I have not so much of the confidence of the people as I had some time since, I do not know that, all things considered, any other person has more; and, however this may be, there is no way in which I can have any other man put where I am. I am here; I must do the best I can, and bear the responsibility of taking the course which I feel I ought to take.

The proclamation appeared in the newspapers of the following morning. One substantial addition had been made to the document since July 22. It now declared that the Government of the United States would "recognize and maintain" the freedom of the persons set at liberty.

There was no exultation in the President's mind; indeed there was almost a groan in the words which, the night after he had given it out, he addressed to a party of sere-

naders, "I can only trust in God that I have made no mistake." The events of the fall brought him little encouragement. Indeed, the promise of emancipation seemed to effect nothing but discontent and uneasiness; stocks went down, troops fell off. In five great States—Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York—the elections went against him. Little but menaces came from Europe. Many said that the President would not dare, in the face of the unrest of the country, fulfil his promise, and issue the proclamation. But when Congress opened on December 1, he did submit the proclamation, together with the plan for compensated emancipation which he had worked out. Over one-half of the message, in fact, was given to this plan.

Mr. Lincoln pleaded with Congress for his measure as he had never pleaded before. He argued that it would "end the struggle and save the Union forever," that it would "cost no blood at all," that Congress could do it if they would unite with the executive, that the "good people" would respond and support it if appealed to.

"It is not," he said, "'Can any of us imagine better?' but,' Can we all do better?' Object whatsoever is possible, still the question occurs, 'Can we do better?' The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

"Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power and bear the re-

sponsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

As the 1st of January drew near, many friends of the proclamation doubted that Mr. Lincoln would keep his promise. Among these was the Rev. Byron Sunderland, of Washington, at that time chaplain of the Senate and one of the most aggressively loyal ministers in the city. Dr. Sunderland feared that there was truth in the rumor that the President would withdraw, not issue, the proclamation on the 1st of January, and on the Sunday before the New Year he preached a sermon on the subject. Mr. Z. S. Robbins, of Washington, a friend of Mr. Lincoln, asked Dr. Sunderland to go with him to the President and urge him to keep his promise.

"We were ushered into the cabinet room," says Dr. Sunderland. "It was very dim, but one gas-jet burning. As we entered, Mr. Lincoln was standing at the farther end of the long table which filled the middle of the room. As I stood by the door, I am so very short, that I was obliged to look up to see the President. Mr. Robbins introduced me, and I began at once by saying: 'I have come, Mr. President, to anticipate the New Year with my respects, and if I may, to say to you a word about the serious condition of this country.'

"'Go ahead, Doctor,' replied the President; 'every little helps.' But I was too much in earnest to laugh at his sally at my smallness. 'Mr. President,' I continued, 'they say that you are not going to keep your promise to give us the Emancipation Proclamation; that it is your intention to withdraw it.'

"'Well, Doctor,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'you know Peter was going to do it, but when the time came he didn't.'

"'Mr. President,' I continued, 'I have been studying Peter. He did not deny his Master until after his Master rebuked him in the presence of the enemy. You have a master, too, Mr. Lincoln, the American people. Don't deny your master until he has rebuked you before all the world.'

"My earnestness seemed to interest the President, and his whole tone changed immediately. 'Sit down, Doctor Sunderland,' he said; 'let us talk.'

"We seated ourselves in the room, and for a moment the President was silent, his elbow resting on the table, his big, gnarled hands closed over his forehead. Then looking up gravely at me, he began to speak:

"'Doctor, if it had been left to you and me, there would have been no war. If it had been left to you and me, there would have been no cause for this war; but it was not left to us. God has allowed men to make slaves of their fellows. He permits this war. He has before Him a strange spectacle. We, on our side, are praying Him to give us victory, because we believe we are right; but those on the other side pray Him, too, for victory, believing they are right. What must He think of us? And what is coming from the struggle? What will be the effect of it all on the whites and on the negroes?' And then suddenly a ripple of amusement broke the solemn tone of his voice. 'As for the negroes, Doctor, and what is going to become of them: I told Ben Wade the other day, that it made me think of a story I read in one of my first books, "Æsop's Fables." It was an old edition, and had curious rough wood-cuts, one of which showed four white men scrubbing a negro in a potash kettle filled with cold water. The text explained that the men thought that by scrubbing the negro they might make him white. Just about the time they thought they were succeeding, he took cold and died. Now, I am afraid that by the time we get through this war the negro will catch cold and die.'

"The laugh had hardly died away before he resumed his grave tone, and for half an hour he discussed the question of emancipation. He stated it in every light, putting his points

so clearly that each statement was an argument. He showed the fullest appreciation of every side. It was like a talk of one of the old prophets. And though he did not tell me at the end whether the proclamation would be issued or not, I went home comforted and uplifted, and I believed in Abraham Lincoln from that day."

Mr. Lincoln had no idea of withdrawing the proclamation. On December 30, he read the document to his cabinet, and asked the members to take copies home and give him their criticisms. The next day at cabinet meeting these criticisms and suggestions were presented by the different members. Mr. Lincoln took them all to his office, where, during that afternoon and the morning of January 1, 1863, he rewrote the document. He was called from it at eleven o'clock to go to the East Room and begin the customary New Year's handshaking. It was the middle of the afternoon before he was free and back in the executive chamber, where the Emancipation Proclamation, which in the interval had been duly engrossed at the State Department and brought to the White House by Secretary Seward and his son, was waiting his signature.

"They found the President alone in his room," writes Frederick Seward. "The broad sheet was spread out before him on the cabinet table. Mr. Lincoln dipped his pen in the ink, and then, holding it a moment above the paper, seemed to hesitate. Looking around, he said:

"'I never, in my life, felt more certain that I was doing right, than I do in signing this paper. But I have been receiving calls, and shaking hands since nine [eleven?] o'clock this morning, till my arm is stiff and numb. Now, this signature is one that will be closely examined, and if they find my hand trembled, they will say "he had some compunctions." But, any way, it is going to be done!'

"So saying, he slowly and carefully wrote his name at the bottom of the proclamation."

At last the Emancipation Proclamation was a fact. But there was little rejoicing in the heart of the man who had framed and given it to the world. In issuing it, all he had dared hope was that in the long run it would give greater gain than loss. He was not confident that this would be so, but he was willing to risk it. "Hope and fear and doubt contended over the new policy in uncertain conflict," he said months later. As he had foreseen, dark days followed. There were mutinies in the army; there was ridicule; there was a long interval of waiting for results. Nothing but the greatest care in enforcing the proclamation could make it a greater good than evil, and Mr. Lincoln now turned all his energies to this new task. "We are like whalers," he said one day, "who have been long on a chase; we have at last got the harpoon into the monster, but we must now look how we steer, or with one 'flop' of his tail he will send us all into eternity."

CHAPTER XXVI

LINCOLN'S SEARCH FOR A GENERAL

THE failure of McClellan in the Peninsular Campaign not only forced the emancipation proclamation from Lincoln, it set him to working on a fresh set of military problems. The most important of these was a search for a competent general-in-chief for the armies of the United States. As has already been noted General McClellan had been appointed general-in-chief in July, 1861, after the first battle of Bull Run. A few months' experience had demonstrated to the Administration that able as McClellan was in forming an army and inspiring his soldiers, he lacked the ability to direct a great concerted movement extending over so long a line as that from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. In March when he took the field at the head of the Army of the Potomac the President relieved him from the command of all military departments except that of the Department of the Potomac. From March to July, 1862, Lincoln had no general-in-chief. He felt so keenly his need of an experienced military counsellor that towards the end of June he made a hurried and secret visit to General Scott, who since he had been superseded by McClellan had been in retirement.

One result of his visit to McClellan at Harrison's Landing in July was to fix Lincoln's determination to have in Washington a general-in-chief of all the armies who could supplement his own meagre knowledge of military matters, and who could aid him in forming judgments. He knew that in the campaign against Richmond he had, at more than one

critical moment, made decisions which were contrary to McClellan's plans. He knew that McClellan claimed that these decisions had caused his failure. He had acted to the best of his judgment in every case, but he undoubtedly felt the danger in a civilian's taking such a responsibility. He wanted a man at his side whom he believed was wiser than he in these matters. So far the war had brought out but one man who seemed to him at all fit for this work, Major-General H. W. Halleck, the commander of the Department of the Mississippi. On his return to Washington from his visit to McClellan, almost the first act of the President was to summon Halleck to Washington as general-in-chief. Halleck was a West Point man highly regarded by General Scott, who had been appointed to take charge of the Department of the West after Frémont's failure there. He had shown such vigor in his field in the winter of 1861-'62, that in March, when McClellan was relieved of the position of general-in-chief, a new department including all the Mississippi region west of Knoxville, Tennessee, was given to Halleck. Since that time he had succeeded in opening the Mississippi with the aid of the gunboats as far south as Memphis.

Halleck was appointed on July 11, and soon after his arrival in Washington he went to Harrison's Landing to look over McClellan's situation. He found McClellan determined to make another attack on Richmond after he received reenforcements. Halleck disapproved of the idea. He believed that McClellan should return to the Potomac and unite with the new army of Virginia which had just been formed of the troops around Washington and placed under the direction of General John Pope, another product of the Mississippi campaign, from whom the President hoped great things.

McClellan persistently fought this plan and his removal was seriously discussed at this time. The great body of the

Republican party indeed demanded it. Many did not hesitate to say that McClellan was a traitor only waiting the proper opportunity to surrender his army to the enemy—an accusation which never had other foundation than McClellan's obstinacy and procrastination. Lincoln would not relieve him. He believed him loyal. He knew that no man could be better loved by his soldiers or more capable of putting an army into form. He had no one to put in his place. There was a political reason, too; McClellan was a Democrat. The party took his view of the disastrous Peninsular campaign—that Mr. Lincoln had not supported him. To remove him was to arouse bitter Democratic opposition and so to decrease the support of the Union cause and at this juncture to hold as solid a North as possible to the war was quite as imperative as to win a battle.

Lincoln would not relieve McClellan, but he sanctioned the plan for a change of base from the James to the Potomac and early in August, McClellan was ordered to move his army. He continued to struggle against the movement, believing he could, if re-enforced, capture Richmond, and when forced to yield he had made the movement with delay and ill-humor. The withdrawal of McClellan freed Lee's army, and the Confederate general marched quickly northward against the Army of Virginia under General Pope. On August 30, Lee defeated Pope in the second battle of Bull Run—a defeat scarcely less discouraging to the Federals than the first Bull Run had been, and one that caused almost as great a panic at Washington. Pope was defeated, the country generally believed, because McClellan, who was hardly twenty miles away, did not, in spite of orders, do anything to relieve him. It seemed to Lincoln that McClellan even wanted Pope to fail. The indignation of the Secretary of War and of the majority of the members of the cabinet was so great against McClellan that a protest against keeping him any longer in

command of any force was written by Stanton and signed by three of his colleagues. Major A. E. H. Johnson, the private secretary of Stanton, first published this protest in the Washington "Evening Star," March 18, 1893. Mr. Johnson says that the President thought it unwise to publish the document that Mr. Stanton had prepared; but he consented that the following protest should be signed and handed to him as a substitute. The understanding of the cabinet members interested was that this revised protest should go to the country. Mr. Johnson believes that Mr. Lincoln himself wrote this protest; at all events, he is certain that the President consented to it.

The undersigned, who have been honored with your selection as part of your confidential advisers, deeply impressed with our great responsibility in the present crisis, do but perform a painful duty in declaring to you our deliberate opinion that at this time it is not safe to intrust to Major-General McClellan the command of any army of the United States. And we hold ourselves ready at any time to explain to you in detail the reasons upon which this opinion is based.

In spite of this evident sympathy of Lincoln with the indignation against McClellan, on September 2 he placed that general in command of all the troops around Washington. Probably no act of his ever angered the Secretary of War so thoroughly. A large part of the North, too, was indignant. A general cry went up to the President for a new leader.

Lincoln only showed again in this determined and bitterly criticised action his courage in acting in a crisis according to his own judgment. The army under Pope was demoralized. Washington was, perhaps, in danger. The defeat had robbed Pope of confidence. Halleck, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, was beseeching McClellan to come to his relief. There was no other general in the army who could so quickly "lick the troops into shape," as Lincoln put

it, and man the fortifications around the city. He made the order, and McClellan entirely justified the President's faith in him. He did put the army into form, and was able to follow at once after Lee, who was making for Maryland and Pennsylvania. Overtaking Lee at Antietam, north of the Potomac, McClellan defeated him on September 17. But to Lincoln's utter despair, he failed to follow up his victory and allowed Lee to get back south of the Potomac river; nor would he follow him, in spite of Lincoln's reiterated urging. It was this failure to move McClellan's army from camp that sent Lincoln to visit him early in October. He would find out the actual condition of the army; see if, as McClellan complained, it lacked "everything" and needed rest. He found McClellan with over 100,000 men around him; two days of his visit he spent in the saddle reviewing this force. He visited the hospitals, talked with the men, interviewed the generals, saw everything. What his opinion of the ability of the army to do something was, is evident from an order sent McClellan the day after he returned to Washington: "The President directs that you cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy or drive him south." This was on October 6. A week later, McClellan being still in camp, Mr. Lincoln wrote him the following letter:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October* 13, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

My Dear Sir: You remember my speaking to you of what I called your over-cautiousness. Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess, and act upon the claim? As I understand, you telegraphed General Halleck that you cannot subsist your army at Winchester unless the railroad from Harper's Ferry

to that point be put in working order. But the enemy does now subsist his army at Winchester, at a distance nearly twice as great from railroad transportation as you would have to do without the railroad last named. He now wagons from Culpepper Court House, which is just about twice as far as you would have to do from Harper's Ferry. He is certainly not more than half as well provided with wagons as you are. I certainly should be pleased for you to have the advantage of the railroad from Harper's Ferry to Winchester, but it wastes all the remainder of autumn to give it to you, and, in fact, ignores the question of time, which cannot and must not be ignored. Again, one of the standard maxims of war, as you know, is to "operate upon the enemy's communications as much as possible without exposing your own." You seem to act as if this applies against you, but cannot apply in your favor. Change positions with the enemy, and think you not he would break your communication with Richmond within the next twenty-four hours? . . . .

If he should move northward, I would follow him closely, holding his communications. If he should prevent our seizing his communications, and move toward Richmond, I would press closely to him, fight him, if a favorable opportunity should present, and at least try to beat him to Richmond on the inside track. I say "try;" if we never try, we shall never succeed. If he makes a stand at Winchester, moving neither north nor south, I would fight him there, on the idea that if we cannot beat him when he bears the wastage of coming to us, we never can when we bear the wastage of going to him. This proposition is a simple truth, and is too important to be lost sight of for a moment. In coming to us he tenders us an advantage which we should not waive. We should not so operate as to merely drive him away. As we must beat him somewhere or fail finally, we can do it, if at all, easier near to us than far away. If we cannot beat the enemy where he now is, we never can, he again being within the intrenchments of Richmond. . . .

This patient, sensible letter had no effect on McClellan. Now, forbearing as Lincoln was as a rule, he could lose his patience in a way which it does one good to see. He lost it a

few days later, when McClellan gave as a reason for inaction that his cavalry horses had sore tongues.

"I have just read your dispatch about sore-tongued and fatigued horses," Lincoln telegraphed. "Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues anything?"

Yet even for this telegram he half apologized two days later:

Most certainly I intend no injustice to any, and if I have done any I deeply regret it. To be told, after more than five weeks' total inaction of the army, and during which period we have sent to the army every fresh horse we possibly could, amounting in the whole to 7,918, that the cavalry horses were too much fatigued to move, presents a very cheerless, almost hopeless, prospect for the future, and it may have forced something of impatience in my dispatch.

On the first day of November, McClellan crossed the Potomac; but four days later the President, acting on a curious, half-superstitious ultimatum which he had laid down for his own guidance, removed the General. He had decided, Mr. Hay heard him say, that if McClellan permitted Lee to cross the Blue Ridge and place himself between Richmond and the Army of the Potomac, there would be a change in generals. Four days later Lee did this very thing, and Lincoln, unmoved by the fact that McClellan had at last begun the movement south, kept the compact with himself.

But who should be asked to take the command of the army? There was no man whose achievements made him pre-eminent—no one whom the country demanded as it had Frémont and McClellan. The choice seemed to be confined to the corps commanders of the Army of the Potomac, and General Ambrose Burnside was ordered to relieve McClellan. Lincoln had been watching Burnside closely for many

months. Indeed, he had already twice asked him to take the command, but Burnside, believing in McClellan and mistrusting his own fitness, had refused.

With an anxious heart the President watched the new commander as he followed Lee into Virginia and took a position north of the Rappahannock, facing Lee, who was now at Fredericksburg, on the south of the river. Burnside at once made ready for battle and Lincoln wanting as always to see with his own eyes the army's condition, went down the Potomac on November 27 to Acquia Creek, where Burnside met him and explained his plan. The President thought it risky and in a letter to Halleck suggested a less hazardous substitute. Both Burnside and Halleck objected however and the President yielded.

Burnside began his movement on December 9. During the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, the President studied intently the yellow-tissue telegrams in his drawer at the telegraph office, telling where troops were crossing the river and what positions had been gained. At half-past four o'clock on the morning of the 14th, a message was received saying that the troops were all over the river—" loss, 5,000." This meant that the final struggle was at hand. About eight o'clock that morning, Mr. Lincoln appeared at the telegraph office of the War Department in dressing-gown and carpet slippers. Mr. Rosewater, the present editor of the Omaha " Bee," was receiving messages, and he says that the President did not leave the room until night. Secretary Stanton, Major Eckert, and Captain Fox were the only other persons present, as he remembers. The excitement and suspense were too great for any one to eat, and it was not until evening that the Secretary sent out for food for the watchers. All day the 15th the anxiety lasted; then, at a quarter past four o'clock on the morning of the 16th, came news of a retreat. " I have thought it necessary," telegraphed Burnside from the north

of the Rappahannock, " to withdraw the army to this side of the river." Slowly the dreadful returns came in—over 10,000 men dead and wounded, 2,000 more missing. The government did its utmost to conceal the disaster, but gradually it came out and again the heart-sick country heaped its anger on the President.

Lincoln's faith in Burnside was sorely tried by the battle of Fredericksburg. Reports which soon came to him of the discouragement of the army, and the disaffection of the corps commanders, alarmed him still further, and he refused, without Halleck's consent, to allow Burnside to make a new movement which the latter had planned. But Halleck declined, at this critical moment, to accept the responsibilities of his position as General-in-Chief and to give a decision. Lincoln felt his desertion deeply.

" If in such a difficulty as this," he wrote Halleck, " you do not help, you fail me precisely in the point for which I sought your assistance. You know what General Burnside's plan is, and it is my wish that you go with him to the ground, examine it as far as practicable, confer with the officers, getting their judgment and ascertaining their temper—in a word, gather all the elements for forming a judgment of your own, and then tell General Burnside that you do approve or that you do not approve his plan. Your military skill is useless to me if you will not do this."

The passing weeks only added to the disorganization of the Army of the Potomac, and on January 25 the President ordered General Joseph Hooker to relieve General Burnside. Stanton and Halleck were not satisfied with the selection. They wanted the next experiment tried on a Western general who was promising well, General W. S. Rosecrans. That Lincoln himself saw danger in the appointment is evident from the letter he wrote to General Hooker:

General: I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appear to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skillful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable if not an indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country, and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it; and now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Hooker had a manly heart, and the President's words appealed to the best that was in him. Noah Brooks tells how he heard the General read the letter soon after its receipt. "He finished reading it," writes Mr. Brooks, "almost with tears in his eyes; and as he folded it and put it back in the breast of his coat, he said, 'That is just such a letter as a father might write to a son. It is a beautiful letter, and al-

though I think he was harder on me than I deserved, I will say that I love the man who wrote it.' "

By the first of April, the Army of the Potomac had been put into splendid form by General Hooker. An advance against the enemy, still entrenched at Fredericksburg, where Burnside had engaged him, was contemplated, but prior to the battle a grand review of the troops before the President was planned. It was on Saturday, April 4, that Lincoln left Washington, by a river steamer, for Hooker's headquarters at Falmouth, Virginia. A great snow-storm began that night, and it was with serious delay and discomfort that the review was conducted. Difficult as it was, the President was indefatigable in his efforts to see all the army, to talk with every officer, to shake hands with as many men as possible. A strange foreboding seemed to possess him. Hooker's confident assurance, "I am going straight to Richmond, if I live," filled him with dread. "It's about the worst thing I have seen since I have been down here," he told Noah Brooks, who was one of the party. When he watched the splendid column of that vast army of a hundred thousand, there was no rejoicing in his face. The defeats of two years, the angry clamor of an unhappy North, the dead of a dozen battle-fields, seemed written there instead. So haggard was his countenance that even the men in the line noticed it. Ira Seymour Dodd, in one of his graphic Civil War stories, has described this very review, and he tells how he and his comrades were almost awe-stricken by the glimpse they caught of the President's face:

As we neared the reviewing-stand, the tall figure of Lincoln loomed up. He was on horseback, and his severely plain, black citizen's dress set him in bold relief against the crowd of generals in full uniform grouped behind him. Distinguished men were among them; but we had no eyes save for our revered President, the Commander-in-Chief of the

army, the brother of every soldier, the great leader of a nation in its hour of trial. There was no time save for a marching salute; the occasion called for no cheers. Self-examination, not glorification, had brought the army and its chief together. But we passed close to him, so that he could look into our faces and we into his.

None of us to our dying day can forget that countenance! From its presence we marched directly onward toward our camp, and as soon as "route step" was ordered and the men were free to talk, they spoke thus to each other: "Did you ever see such a look on any man's face?" "He is bearing the burdens of the nation." "It is an awful load; it is killing him." "Yes, that is so; he is not long for this world!"

Concentrated in that one great, strong yet tender face, the agony of the life or death struggle of the hour was revealed as we had never seen it before. With new understanding we knew why we were soldiers.

A day later Lincoln left the army, but before going he said to Hooker and his generals, "Gentlemen, in your next battle put in all your men." The next battle occurred on May 1, 2, 3, and 4. Over 37,000 men were left out of the fight, and on May 5 the army again withdrew north of the Potomac. The news of the retreat reached the President soon after noon of May 6.

"About three o'clock in the afternoon," says Noah Brooks, "The door opened, and Lincoln came into the room. I shall never forget that picture of despair. He held a telegram in his hand, and as he closed the door and came toward us, I mechanically noticed that his face, usually sallow, was ashen in hue. The paper on the wall behind him was of the tint known as 'French gray,' and even in that moment of sorrow and dread expectation I vaguely took in the thought that the complexion of the anguished President's visage was almost exactly like that of the wall. He gave me the telegram, and in a voice trembling with emotion, said, 'Read it —news from the army.' The despatch was from General Butterfield, Hooker's chief of staff, addressed to the War

Department, and was to the effect that the army had been withdrawn from the south side of the Rappahannock, and was then 'safely encamped' in its former position. The appearance of the President, as I read aloud these fateful words, was piteous. Never, as long as I knew him, did he seem to be so broken up, so dispirited, and so ghostlike. Clasping his hands behind his back, he walked up and down the room, saying, 'My God, my God, what will the country say! What will the country say!'"

This consternation was soon mastered. Lincoln's almost superhuman faculty of putting disaster behind him and turning his whole force to the needs of the moment came to his aid. Ordering a steamer to be ready at the wharf, he summoned Halleck, and at four o'clock the two men were on their way to Hooker's headquarters. The next day, the President had the situation in hand, and was planning the next move of the Army of the Potomac.

The country could not rally so quickly from the blow of Chancellorsville. From every side came again the despairing cry, "Abraham Lincoln, give us a man!" But Lincoln had no man of whom he felt surer than he did of Hooker, and for two months longer he tried to sustain that General. A fundamental difficulty existed, however—what Lincoln called a "family quarrel"—an antagonism between Halleck and Hooker, which caused constant friction. Since the beginning of the war, Lincoln had been annoyed, his plans thwarted, the cause crippled, by the jealousies and animosities of men. So far as possible the President tried to keep out of these complications. "I have too many family controversies, so to speak, already on my hands, to voluntarily, or so long as I can avoid it, take up another," he wrote to General McClernand once. "You are now doing well—well for the country, and well for yourself—much better than you could possibly be if engaged in open war with General Halleck." But his letters and telegrams show how, in spite of himself,

he was continually running athwart somebody's prejudice or dislike.

The trouble between Halleck and Hooker reached a climax at a critical moment. On June 3, Lee had slipped from his position on the Rappahannock and started north. Hooker had followed him with great skill. Both armies were well north of the Potomac, and a battle was imminent when, on June 27, angered by Halleck's refusal of a request, Hooker resigned.

During the days when Hooker was chasing Lee northward, the President had spent much of his time in his room at the telegraph office. Mr. Chandler, who was on duty there, relates that one of his most constant inquiries was about the Fifth Corps, under General Meade. "Where's Meade?" "What's the Fifth Corps doing?" he was asking constantly. He had seen, no doubt, that he might be obliged to displace Hooker, and was observing the man whom he had in mind for the position. At all events, it was Meade whom he now ordered to take charge of the army.

The days following were ones of terrible suspense at Washington. The North, panic-stricken by the Southern invasion, was clamoring at the President for a hundred things. Among other demands was a strongly supported one for the recall of McClellan. Col. A. K. McClure, of Philadelphia, who, among others, urged Lincoln to restore McClellan, says in a letter to the writer:

When Lee's army entered Pennsylvania in June, 1863, there was general consternation throughout the State. The Army of the Potomac was believed to be very much demoralized by the defeat of Chancellorsville, by want of confidence in Hooker as commander, and by the apprehension that any of the corps commanders, called suddenly to lead the army just on the eve of the greatest battle of the war, would not inspire the trust of the soldiers. The friends of General McClellan believed that he could best defend the

State. He was admittedly the best organizer in our entire army, and preëminently equipped as a defensive officer, and they assumed that his restoration to the command would bring in immense Democratic support to the Administration.

Lincoln's view of the matter is fully shown by the telegram which he sent in reply to the one from Colonel McClure urging McClellan's appointment.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, *June* 30, 1863.

A. K. MCCLURE, Philadelphia:

Do we gain anything by opening one leak to stop another? Do we gain anything by quieting one clamor merely to open another, and probably a larger one? A. LINCOLN.

Three days after his appointment, Meade met Lee at Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania, and after three days of hard fighting defeated him. During these three terrible days—the 1st, 2d, and 3d of July—Mr. Lincoln spent most of his time in the telegraph office.

"He read every telegram with the greatest eagerness," says Mr. Chandler, "and frequently was so anxious that he would rise from his seat and come around and lean over my shoulder while I was translating the cipher. After the battle of Gettysburg, the President urged Meade to pursue Lee and engage him before he should cross the Potomac. His anxiety seemed as great as it had been during the battle itself, and now, as then, he walked up and down the floor, his face grave and anxious, wringing his hands and showing every sign of deep solicitude. As the telegrams came in, he traced the positions of the two armies on the map, and several times called me up to point out their location, seeming to feel the need of talking to some one. Finally, a telegram came from Meade saying that under such and such circumstances he would engage the enemy at such and such

a time. 'Yes,' said the President bitterly, 'he will be ready to fight a magnificent battle when there is no enemy there to fight!'"

Perhaps Lincoln never had a harder struggle to do what he thought to be just than he did after Meade allowed Lee to escape across the Potomac. He seems to have entertained a suspicion that the General *wanted* Lee to get away, for in a telegram to Simon Cameron, on July 15, he says: "I would give much to be relieved of the impression that Meade, Couch, Smith, and all, since the battle at Gettysburg, have striven only to get Lee over the river without another fight." The day before, he wrote Meade a letter in which he put frankly all his discontent:

. . . . My dear General, I do not believe you appreciate the magnitude of the misfortune involved in Lee's escape. He was within your easy grasp, and to have closed upon him would, in connection with our other late successes, have ended the war. As it is, the war will be prolonged indefinitely. If you could not safely attack Lee last Monday, how can you possibly do so south of the river, when you can take with you very few more than two-thirds of the force you then had in hand? It would be unreasonable to expect and I do not expect that you can now effect much. Your golden opportunity is gone, and I am distressed immeasurably because of it.

I beg you will not consider this a prosecution or persecution of yourself. As you had learned that I was dissatisfied, I have thought it best to kindly tell you why.*

He never sent the letter. Thinking it over, in his dispassionate way, he evidently concluded that it would not repair the misfortune and that it might dishearten the General. He smothered his regret, and went on patiently and loyally for many months in the support of his latest experiment.

But while in the East the President had been experiment-

*Abraham Lincoln. A History. By Nicolay and Hay.

ing with men, in the West a man had been painfully and silently making himself. His name was Ulysses S. Grant. The President had known nothing of his coming into the army. No political party had demanded him; indeed he had found it difficult at first, West Point graduate though he was and great as the need of trained service was, to secure the lowest appointment. He had taken what he could get, however, and from the start he had always done promptly the thing asked of him; more than that, he seemed always to be looking for things to do. It was these habits of his that brought him at last, in February of 1862, to the command of a movement in which Lincoln was deeply interested. This was the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, near the mouth of the Tennessee river. "Our success or failure at Fort Donelson is vastly important, and I beg you to put your soul in the effort," Lincoln wrote on February 16 to Halleck and Buell, then in command of Missouri and Tennessee. While the President was writing his letters, Grant, in front of Fort Donelson, was writing a note to the Confederate commander, who had asked for terms of capitulation: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately on your works." To the harrassed President at Washington these words must have been like a war-cry. He had spent the winter in a vain effort to inspire his supposed great generals with the very spirit breathed in the words and deeds of this unknown officer in the West.

Grant was now made a major-general, and entrusted with larger things. He always brought about results; but in spite of this, the President saw there was much opposition to him. For a long period he was in partial disgrace; but Lincoln must have noticed that while many other generals, whose achievements were less than Grant's, complained loudly and incessantly at reprimands—"snubbing," the President

called it—Grant said nothing. He stayed at his post doggedly, working his way inch by inch down the Mississippi.

Finally, in July, 1862, when General Halleck was called to Washington as General-in-Chief, Grant was put at the head of the armies of the West. There was much opposition to him. Men came to the President urging his removal. Lincoln shook his head. "I can't spare this man," he said; "he *fights*." Many good people complained that he drank. "Can you tell me the kind of whisky?" asked Lincoln, "I should like to send a barrel to some of my other generals."

Nevertheless, the President grew anxious as the months went on. The opening of the Mississippi was, after the capture of Richmond, the most important task of the war. The wrong man there was only second in harm to the wrong man on the Potomac. Was Grant a "wrong man?" Little could be told from his telegrams and letters. "General Grant is a copious worker and fighter," said Lincoln later, "but he is a very meager writer or telegrapher." Finally, the President and the Secretary of War sent for a brilliant and loyal newspaper man, Charles A. Dana, and asked him to go to Grant's army, "to act as the eyes of the Government at the front," said the President. His real mission was to find out for them what kind of a man Grant was. Dana's letters soon showed Lincoln that Grant was a general that nothing could turn from a purpose. That was enough for the President. He let him alone, and watched. When, finally, Vicksburg was captured, he wrote him the following letter—it may be called his first recognition of the General:

WASHINGTON, *July* 13, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT.

My Dear General: I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first

reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Grant was busy with new movements before this letter reached him; indeed, as soon as Vicksburg capitulated, he had begun getting ready to do something else. So occupied was he that he did not even take time to write his plans to the Government, asking Mr. Dana to do it for him.

Three and a half months later, after the Army of the Cumberland had been defeated at Chickamauga and had retired into Chattanooga, Grant was called to its relief. In a month the Confederates were driven from their positions on the ridges above him and East Tennessee was saved. There was no longer in Lincoln's mind a doubt that at last he had found the man he wanted. In the winter following, '63 and '64, after much discussion Congress revived the grade of lieutenant-general in the army purposely for Grant's benefit and on February 29, Lincoln nominated the general to the rank. He proceeded at once to Washington, where on March 9 the President and the General met for the first time. What did the President want him to do, Grant asked. Take Richmond was the President's reply, could he do it? If he had the troops Grant answered. The President promised them. Two months later Grant had re-organized the Army of the Potomac and had started at its head for the final march to Richmond.

CHAPTER XXVII

LINCOLN AND THE SOLDIERS

ANOTHER serious problem which the failure of the Peninsular campaign thrust on the President was where to get troops for a renewal of the war. When one recalls the eagerness with which men rushed into arms at the opening of the Civil war, it seems as if President Lincoln should never have had anxiety about filling the ranks of the army. For the first year, indeed, it gave him little concern. So promptly were the calls of 1861 answered that in the spring of 1862 an army of 637,126 men was in service. It was believed that with this force the war could be ended, and in April recruiting was stopped. It was a grave mistake. Before the end of May, the losses and discouragements of the Peninsular campaign made it necessary to re-enforce the Army of the Potomac. More men were needed, in fact, all along the line. Lincoln saw that, rather than an army of 600,000 men, he should have one of a million, and, July 2, he issued a call for 300,000 men for three years, and August 4 an order was issued for a draft of 300,000 more for nine months.

By the end of 1862, nearly one and a half million men had been enrolled in the army. Nevertheless, the "strength of the army" at that time was counted at but 918,000. What had become of the half million and more? Nearly 100,000 of them had been killed or totally disabled on the battlefield; 200,000 more, perhaps, had fallen out in the seasoning process. Passed by careless medical examiners, the first five-mile march, the first week of camp life, had brought out some physical weakness which made soldiering out of the

question. The rest of the loss was in three-months', six-months', or nine-months' men. They had enlisted for these short periods, and their terms up, they had left the army.

Moreover, the President had learned by this time that, even when the Secretary of War told him that the "strength of the army" was 918,000, it did not by any means follow that there were that number of men present for duty. Experience had taught him that about one-fourth of the reputed "strength" must be allowed for shrinkage; that is, for men in hospitals, men on furloughs, men who had deserted. He had learned that this enormous wastage went on steadily. It followed that, if the army was to be kept up to the million-men mark, recruiting must be as steady as, and in proportion to, the shrinkage.

Recruiting, so easy at the beginning of the war, had become by 1862 quite a different matter. Patriotism, love of adventure, excitement could no longer be counted on to fill the ranks. It was plain to the President that hereafter, if he was to have the men he needed, military service must be compulsory. Nothing could have been devised which would have created a louder uproar in the North than the suggestion of a draft. All through the winter of 1862-63, Congress wrangled over the bill ordering it, much of the press in the meantime denouncing it as "despotic", and "contrary to American institutions." The bill passed, however, and the President signed it in March, 1863. At once there was put into operation a huge new military machine, the Bureau of the Provost-Marshal-General, which had for its business the enrollment of all the men in the United States whom the new law considered capable of bearing arms and the drafting enough of them to fill up the quota assigned to each State. This bureau was also to look after deserters.

A whole series of new problems was thrust on the President when the Bureau of the Provost-Marshal-General came

into being. The quotas assigned the States led to endless disputes between the governors and the War Department; the drafts caused riots; an inferior kind of soldier was obtained by drafting, and deserters increased. Lincoln shirked none of these new cares. He was determined that the efficiency of the war engine should be kept up, and nobody in the Government studied more closely how this was to be done, or insisted more vigorously on the full execution of the law. In assigning the quotas to the different States, certain credits were made of men who had enlisted previously. Many disputes arose over the credits and assignments, some of them most perplexing. Ultimately most of these reached the President. The draft bore heavily on districts where the percentage of death among the first volunteers had been large, and often urgent pleas were made to the President to release a city or county from the quota assigned. The late Joseph Medill, the editor of the Chicago "Tribune," once told me how he and certain leading citizens of Chicago went to Lincoln to ask that the quota of Cook County be reduced.

"In 1864, when the call for extra troops came, Chicago revolted," said Mr. Medill. "She had already sent 22,000 men up to that time, and was drained. When the new call came, there were no young men to go—no aliens except what were bought. The citizens held a mass meeting, and appointed three persons, of whom I was one, to go to Washington and ask Stanton to give Cook County a new enrollment. I begged off; but the committee insisted, so I went. On reaching Washington, we went to Stanton with our statement. He refused entirely to give us the desired aid. Then we went to Lincoln. 'I cannot do it,' he said, 'but I will go with you to Stanton and hear the arguments of both sides.' So we all went over to the War Department together. Stanton and General Frye were there, and they, of course, contended that the quota should not be changed. The argument went on for some time, and finally was referred to Lin-

coln, who had been sitting silently listening. I shall never forget how he suddenly lifted his head and turned on us a black and frowning face.

" ' Gentlemen,' he said, in a voice full of bitterness, ' after Boston, Chicago has been the chief instrument in bringing this war on the country. The Northwest has opposed the South as New England has opposed the South. It is you who are largely responsible for making blood flow as it has. You called for war until we had it. You called for Emancipation, and I have given it to you. Whatever you have asked you have had. Now you come here begging to be let off from the call for men which I have made to carry out the war you have demanded. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves. I have a right to expect better things of you. Go home, and raise your 6,000 extra men. And you, Medill, you are acting like a coward. You and your ' Tribune ' have had more influence than any paper in the Northwest in making this war. You can influence great masses, and yet you cry to be spared at a moment when your cause is suffering. Go home and send us those men.'

" I couldn't say anything. It was the first time I ever was whipped, and I didn't have an answer. We all got up and went out, and when the door closed, one of my colleagues said: ' Well, gentlemen, the old man is right. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves. Let us never say anything about this, but go home and raise the men.' And we did—6,000 men—making 28,000 in the war from a city of 156,000. But there might have been crape on every door almost in Chicago, for every family had lost a son or a husband. I lost two brothers. It was hard for the mothers."*

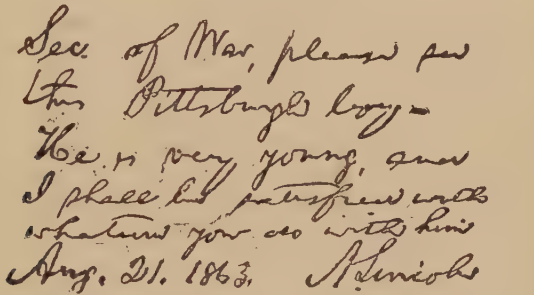
Severe as Lincoln could be with any disposition to shirk what he considered a just and necessary demand, strenuously as he insisted that the ranks must be kept full, he never came to regard the army as a mere machine, never forgot the individual men who made it up. Indeed, he was the one man

* These notes were made immediately after an interview given me by Mr. Medill in June, 1895. They were to be corrected before publication, but Mr. Medill's death occurred before they were in type, so that the account was never seen by him.

in the Government who, from first to last, was big enough to use both his head and his heart. From the outset, he was the personal friend of every soldier he sent to the front, and somehow every man seemed to know it. No doubt, it was on Lincoln's visits to the camps around Washington, in the early days of the war, that the body of the soldiers got this idea. They never forgot his friendly hand-clasp, his hearty "God bless you," his remonstrance against the youth of some fifteen-year-old boy masquerading as twenty, his jocular remarks about the height of some soldier towering above his own six feet four. When, later, he visited the Army of the Potomac on the Rappahannock and at Antietam, these impressions of his interest in the personal welfare of the soldiers were renewed. He walked down the long lines of tents or huts, noting the attempts at decoration, the housekeeping conveniences, replying by smiles and nods and sometimes with words to the greetings, rough and hearty, which he received. He inquired into every phase of camp life, and the men knew it, and said to one another, "He cares for us; he makes us fight, but he cares."

Reports of scores of cases where he interfered personally to secure some favor or right for a soldier found their way to the army and gave solid foundation to this impression that he was the soldier's friend. From the time of the arrival of the first troops in Washington, in April, 1861, the town was full of men, all of them wanting to see the President. At first they were gay and curious merely, their requests trivial; but later, when the army had settled down to steady fighting, and Bull Run and the Peninsula and Antietam and Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville had cut and scarred and aged it, the soldiers who haunted Washington were changed. They stumped about on crutches. They sat pale and thin in the parks, empty sleeves pinned to their breasts; they came to the White House begging for furloughs to see

dying parents, for release to support a suffering family. No man will ever know how many of these soldiers Abraham Lincoln helped. Little cards are constantly turning up in different parts of the country, treasured by private soldiers, on which he had written some brief note to a proper authority, intended to help a man out of a difficulty. Here is one:



SEC. OF WAR, please see this Pittsburgh boy. He is very young, and I shall be satisfied with whatever you do with him. A. LINCOLN.
Aug. 21, 1863.

The "Pittsburgh boy" had enlisted at seventeen. He had been ill with a long fever. He wanted a furlough, and with a curious trust that anything could be done if he could only get to the President, he had slipped into the White House, and by chance met Lincoln, who listened to his story and gave him this note.

Many applications reached Lincoln as he passed to and from the White House and the War Department. One day as he crossed the park he was stopped by a negro who told him a pitiful story. The President wrote him out a check for five dollars. "Pay to colored man with one leg," it read. This check is now in the collection of H. H. Officee of Denver, Colorado.

A pleasing scene between Lincoln and a soldier once fell under the eye of Mr. A. W. Swan of Albuquerque, New

Mexico, on this same path between the White House and the War Department:

"In company with a gentleman, I was on the way to the War Department one day. Our way led through a small park between the White House and the War Department building. As we entered this park we noticed Mr. Lincoln just ahead of us, and meeting him a private soldier who was evidently in a violent passion, as he was swearing in a high key, cursing the Government from the President down. Mr. Lincoln paused as he met the irate soldier, and asked him what was the matter. 'Matter enough,' was the reply. 'I want my money. I have been discharged here, and can't get my pay.' Mr. Lincoln asked if he had his papers, saying that he used to practice law in a small way and possibly could help him. My friend and I stepped behind some convenient shrubbery where we could watch the result. Mr. Lincoln took the papers from the hands of the crippled soldier, and sat down with him at the foot of a convenient tree, where he examined them carefully, and writing a line on the back told the soldier to take them to Mr. Potts, Chief Clerk of the War Department, who would doubtless attend to the matter at once. After Mr. Lincoln had left the soldier, we stepped out and asked him if he knew whom he had been talking with. 'Some ugly old fellow who pretends to be a lawyer,' was the reply. My companion asked to see the papers, and on their being handed to him, pointed to the indorsement they had received. This indorsement read: 'Mr. Potts, attend to this man's case at once and see that he gets his pay. A. L.' The initials were too familiar with men in position to know them to be ignored. We went with the soldier, who had just returned from Libby Prison and had been given a hospital certificate for discharge, to see Mr. Potts, and before the Paymaster's office was closed for the day, he had received his discharge and check for the money due him, he in the meantime not knowing whether to be the more pleased or sorry to think he had cursed 'Abe Lincoln' to his face."

It was not alone the soldier to whom the President listened; it was also to his wife, his mother, his daughter.

"I remember one morning," says Mr. A. B. Chandler, "his coming into my office with a distressed expression on his face and saying to Major Eckert, 'Eckert, who is that woman crying out in the hall? What is the matter with her?' Eckert said he did not know, but would go and find out. He came back soon, and said that it was a woman who had come a long distance expecting to go down to the army to see her husband, that she had some very important matters to consult him about. An order had gone out a short time before to allow no women in the army, except in special cases. She was bitterly disappointed, and was crying over it. Mr. Lincoln sat moodily for a moment after hearing this story, and suddenly looking up, said, 'Let's send her down. You write the order, Major.' Major Eckert hesitated a moment, and said, 'Would it not be better for Colonel Hardie to write the order?' 'Yes,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'that is better; let Hardie write it.' The major went out, and soon returned, saying, 'Mr. President, would it not be better in this case to let the woman's husband come to Washington?' Mr. Lincoln's face lighted up with pleasure. 'Yes, yes,' he said; 'let's bring him up.' The order was written, and the woman was told that her husband would come to Washington. This done, her sorrows seemed lifted from Mr. Lincoln's heart, and he sat down to his yellow tissue telegrams with a serene face."

The futility of trying to help all the soldiers who found their way to him must have come often to Lincoln's mind. "Now, my man, go away, *go away*," General Fry overheard him say one day to a soldier who was pleading for the President's interference in his behalf; "I cannot meddle in your case. I could as easily bail out the Potomac with a teaspoon as attend to all the details of the army."

The President's relations with individual soldiers were, of course, transient. Washington was for the great body of soldiers, whatever their condition, only a half-way house between North and South. The only body of soldiers with which the President had long association was Company K

of the 150th Pennsylvania Volunteers. This company, raised in Crawford County, in northwestern Pennsylvania, reached Washington in the first days of September, 1862. September 6, Captain D. V. Derickson of Meadville, Pennsylvania, who was in command of the company, received orders to march his men to the Soldiers' Home, to act there as a guard to the President, who was occupying a cottage in the grounds.

"The next morning after our arrival," says Mr. Derickson, "the President sent a messenger to my quarters, stating that he would like to see the captain of the guard at his residence. I immediately reported. After an informal introduction and handshaking, he asked me if I would have any objection to riding with him to the city. I replied that it would give me much pleasure to do so, when he invited me to take a seat in the carriage. On our way to the city, he made numerous inquiries, as to my name, where I came from, what regiment I belonged to, etc. . . .

"When we entered the city, Mr. Lincoln said he would call at General Halleck's headquarters and get what news had been received from the army during the night. I informed him that General Cullum, chief aid to General Halleck, was raised in Meadville and that I knew him when I was a boy. He replied, 'Then we must see both the gentlemen.' When the carriage stopped, he requested me to remain seated, and said he would bring the gentlemen down to see me, the office being on the second floor. In a short time the President came down, followed by the other gentlemen. When he introduced them to me, General Cullum recognized and seemed pleased to see me. In General Halleck I thought I discovered a kind of quizzical look, as much as to say, 'Isn't this rather a big joke to ask the Commander-in-Chief of the Army down to the street to be introduced to a country captain?' . . .

"Supposing that the invitation to ride to the city with the President was as much to give him an opportunity to look over and interview the new captain as for any other purpose, I did not report the next morning. During the day I was in-

formed that it was the desire of the President that I should breakfast with him and accompany him to the White House every morning, and return with him in the evening. This duty I entered upon with much pleasure, and was on hand in good time next morning; and I continued to perform this duty until we moved to the White House in November. It was Mr. Lincoln's custom, on account of the pressure of business, to breakfast before the other members of the family were up; and I usually entered his room at half-past six or seven o'clock in the morning, where I often found him reading the Bible or some work on the art of war. On my entering, he would read aloud and offer comments of his own as he read.

"I usually went down to the city at four o'clock and returned with the President at five. He often carried a small portfolio containing papers relating to the business of the day, and spent many hours on them in the evening. . . . I found Mr. Lincoln to be one of the most kind-hearted and pleasant gentlemen that I had ever met. He never spoke unkindly of any one, and always spoke of the rebels as 'those Southern gentlemen.'"*

This kindly relation begun with the captain, the President extended to every man of his company. It was their pride that he knew every one of them by name. "He always called me Joe," I heard a veteran of the guard say, a quaver in his voice. He never passed the men on duty without acknowledging their salute, and often visited their camp. Once in passing when the men were at mess, he called out, "That coffee smells good, boys; give me a cup." And on another occasion he asked for a plate of beans, and sat down on a camp-stool and ate them. Mrs. Lincoln frequently visited the company with the President, and many and many a gift to the White House larder from enthusiastic supporters of the Administration was sent to the boys—now a barrel of apple butter, now a quarter of beef. On holidays, Mrs. Lin-

*Major D. V. Derickson in the Centennial Edition of the Meadville "Tribune-Republican."

coln made it a rule to provide Company K with a turkey dinner.

Late in the fall of 1862, an attempt was made to depose the company. Every member of the guard now living can quote verbatim the note which the President wrote settling the matter:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
November 1, 1862.

To Whom it May Concern: Captain Derickson, with his company, has been for some time keeping guard at my residence, now at the Soldiers' Retreat. He and his company are very agreeable to me, and while it is deemed proper for any guard to remain, none would be more satisfactory than Captain Derickson and his company. A. LINCOLN.

The welfare of the men, their troubles, escapades, amusements, were treated by the President as a kind of family matter. He never forgot to ask after the sick, often secured a pass or a furlough for some one, and took genuine delight in the camp fun.

"While we were in camp at the Soldiers' Home in the fall of 1862," says Mr. C. M. Derickson of Mercer, Pennsylvania, "the boys indulged in various kinds of amusement. I think it was the Kepler boys who introduced the trained elephant. Two men of about the same size, both in a stooped position, were placed one ahead of the other. An army blanket was then thrown over them so that it came about to their knees, and a trunk, improvised by wrapping a piece of a blanket around a small elastic piece of wood, was placed in the hands of the front man. Here you have your elephant. Ours was taught to get down on his knees, stand on one leg, and do various other tricks. While the elephant was going through his exercises one evening, the President strolled into camp. He was very much amused at the wonderful feats the elephant could perform, and a few evenings after he called again and brought a friend with him,

and asked the captain if he would not have the elephant brought out again, as he would like to have his friend see him perform. Of course it was done, to the great amusement of both the President and his friend."

No doubt much of the President's interest in Company K was due to his son Tad. The boy was a great favorite with the men, and probably carried to his father many a tale of the camp. He considered himself, in fact, no unimportant part of the organization, for he wore a uniform, carried a lieutenant's commission, often drilled with the men or rode on his pony at their head in reviews, and much of the time messed with them. One of the odd duties which devolved upon Company K was looking after Tad's goats. These animals have been given a place in history by Lincoln himself in telegrams to Mrs. Lincoln, duly filed in the records of the War Department: "Tell Tad the goats and father are very well, especially the goats," he wired one day; and again. "All well, including Tad's pony and the goats." They were privileged beings on the White House lawn, and were looked after by the company because of Tad's affection for them. They met an untimely end, being burned to death in a fire, which destroyed the White House stables, February 10, 1864.

The two most harowing consequences of war, the havoc of the battlefield and the disease of camp life, from the beginning to the end of the Civil War, centered in Washington. It was the point to which every man disabled in the Army of the Potomac must come sooner or later for care or to be transferred to the North. After battles, the city seemed turned into one great hospital. For days then a long, straggling train of mutilated men poured in. They came on flat cars or open transports, piled so close together that no attendant could pass between them; protected occasionally from the cold by a blanket which had escaped with

its owner, or from the sun by green boughs placed in their hands or laid over their faces. When Washington was reached, all that could be done was to lay them in long rows on the wharfs or platforms until ambulances could carry them to the hospitals. It is when one considers the numbers of wounded in the great Virginia battles that he realizes the length and awfulness of the streams which flowed into Washington. At Fredericksburg they numbered 9,600; at Chancellorsville, 9,762; in the Wilderness, 12,037; at Spottsylvania, 13,416.

In the early days of the war, Washington was so poorly supplied with hospitals that after the first battle of Bull Run churches, dwellings, and government buildings were seized to place the wounded in, and there were so few nurses that the people of Washington had to be called upon. Very rapidly little settlements of board barracks or of white army tents multiplied in the open spaces in and around the town, quarters for the sick and wounded. Nurses poured in from the North. Organizations for relief multiplied. By the end of 1862, Mr. Lincoln could scarcely drive or walk in any direction about Washington without passing a hospital. Even in going to his summer cottage, at the Soldiers' Home, the President did not escape the sight of the wounded. The rolling hillside was dotted with white hospital tents during the entire war. In many places the tents were placed close to the road, so as to get more air, the grounds being more thickly wooded than they are now. As he drove home, after a harrowing day in the White House, the President frequently looked from his carriage upon the very beds of wounded soldiers.

Every member of the Government, whether he would or not, was obliged to give some attention to this side of the war. It became a regular feature of a congressman's life in those days to spend every Saturday or Sunday afternoon

in the hospitals, visiting the wounded men from his district. He wrote their letters, brought them news, saw to their wants. If he had not done it, his constituents would have disposed of him in short order.

In 1862, Mr. Lincoln called Dr. D. Willard Bliss from the field to Washington, to aid in organizing a more perfect system of general hospitals in and about the city. One result of Dr. Bliss's coming was the building of Armory Square Hospital, one of the best conducted institutions of the Civil War. Lincoln gave his personal attention to the building of Armory Square, and for a long time met Dr. Bliss twice each week to consider the ingenious appliances which the latter devised to aid in caring for and treating the wounded. Some of these appliances the President paid for out of his own pocket. Not infrequently he had some suggestion to make for the comfort of the place. It was due to him that Armory Square became a bower of vine and bloom in the summer. "Why don't you plant flower seeds?" he asked Dr. Bliss one day. The doctor said he would if he had seeds. "I'll order them for you from the Agricultural Department," replied the President, and sure enough he did; and thereafter, all through the season, each of the long barracks had its own flower bed and vines.

The President himself visited the hospitals as often as he could, visits never forgotten by the men to whom he spoke as he passed up and down the wards, shaking hands here, giving a cheering word there, making jocular comments everywhere. There are men still living who tell of a little scene they witnessed at Armory Square in 1863. A soldier of the 140th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, had been wounded in the shoulder at the battle of Chancellorsville and taken to Washington. One day, as he was becoming convalescent, a whisper ran down the long row of cots that the President was in the building and would soon pass

by. Instantly every boy in blue who was able arose, stood erect, hands to the side, ready to salute his Commander-in-Chief. The Pennsylvanian stood six feet seven inches in his stockings. Lincoln was six feet four. As the President approached this giant towering above him, he stopped in amazement, and casting his eyes from head to foot and from foot to head, as if contemplating the immense distance from one extremity to the other, he stood for a moment speechless. At length, extending his hand, he exclaimed, "Hello, comrade, do you know when your feet get cold?"

Lincoln rarely forgot a patient whom he saw a second time, and to stubborn cases that remained from month to month he gave particular attention. There was in Armory Square Hospital for a long time a boy known as "little Johnnie." He was hopelessly crippled—doomed to death, but cheerful, and a general favorite. Lincoln never failed to stop at "little Johnnie's" cot when he went to Armory Square, and he frequently sent him fruit and flowers and a friendly message through Mrs. Lincoln.

Of all the incidents told of Lincoln's hospital visits, there is nothing more characteristic, better worth preservation, than the one following, preserved by Dr. Jerôme Walker of Brooklyn:

"Just one week before his assassination, President Lincoln visited the Army of the Potomac, at City Point, Virginia, and carefully examined the hospital arrangements of the Ninth, Sixth, Fifth, Second, and Sixteenth Corps hospitals and of the Engineer Corps, there stationed. At that time I was an agent of the United States Sanitary Commission attached to the Ninth Corps Hospital. Though a boy of nineteen years, to me was assigned the duty of escorting the President through our department of the hospital system. The reader can imagine the pride with which I fulfilled the duty, and as we went from tent to tent I could not but note his gentleness, his friendly greetings to the sick and

wounded, his quiet humor as he drew comparisons between himself and the very tall and very short men with whom he came in contact, and his genuine interest in the welfare of the soldiers.

"Finally, after visiting the wards occupied by our invalid and convalescing soldiers, we came to three wards occupied by sick and wounded Southern prisoners. With a feeling of patriotic duty, I said, 'Mr. President, you won't want to go in there; they are only *rebels*.' I will never forget how he stopped and gently laid his large hand upon my shoulder and quietly answered, 'You mean *Confederates*.' And I have meant Confederates ever since.

"There was nothing left for me to do after the President's remark but to go with him through these three wards; and I could not see but that he was just as kind, his handshakings just as hearty, his interest just as real for the welfare of the men, as when he was among our own soldiers.

"As we returned to headquarters, the President urged upon me the importance of caring for them as faithfully as I should for our own sick and wounded. When I visited next day these three wards, the Southern officers and soldiers were full of praise for 'Abe' Lincoln, as they called him, and when a week afterwards the news came of the assassination, there was no truer sorrow nor greater indignation anywhere than was shown by these same Confederates."

One great cause of sorrow to Lincoln throughout the war was the necessity of punishing soldiers. Not only did the men commit all the crimes common to society, like robbery and murder; they were guilty of others peculiar to military organization and war, such as desertion, sleeping on post, disobedience to orders, bounty jumping, giving information to the enemy. As the army grew larger, desertion became so common and so disastrous to efficiency that it had to be treated with great severity. Lincoln seems to have had his attention first called to it seriously when he visited McClellan's army in July, 1862, for he wrote to McClellan, July 13:

My Dear Sir: I am told that over 160,000 men have gone into your army on the Peninsula. When I was with you the other day we made out 86,500 remaining, leaving 73,500 to be accounted for. I believe 23,500 will cover all the killed, wounded, and missing in all your battles and skirmishes, leaving 50,000 who have left otherwise. Not more than 5,000 of these have died, leaving 45,000 of your army still alive and not with it. I believe half or two-thirds of them are fit for duty to-day. Have you any more perfect knowledge of this than I have? If I am right, and you had these men with you, you could go into Richmond in the next three days. How can they be got to you, and how can they be prevented from getting away in such numbers for the future? A. LINCOLN.

About the same time, Buell reported 14,000 absentees from his army. In the winter of 1862 and 1863 it grew worse. General Hooker says that when he took charge of the Army of the Potomac in January, 1863, the desertions were at the rate of 200 a day. "I caused a return to be made of the absentees of the army," he continues, "and found the number to be 2,922 commissioned officers and 81,964 non-commissioned officers and privates. These were scattered all over the country, and the majority were absent from causes unknown."

When the Bureau of the Provost-Marshal was established in March, 1863, finding and punishing deserters became one of its duties. Much of the difficulty was due to the methods of recruiting. To stimulate volunteering for long periods, the Government began in 1861 to offer bounties. The bounties offered by the Government were never large, however, and were paid in installments, so that no great evil resulted from them. But later, when the quota of each State and district was fixed, and the draft instituted, State and local bounties were added to those of the Government. In some places the bounties offered aggregated $1,500, a large part

of which was paid on enlistment. Immediately a new class of military criminals sprang up, "bounty-jumpers," men who enlisted, drew the bounty, deserted, and reënlisted at some other point.

The law allowed men who had been drafted to send substitutes, and a new class of speculators, known as "substitute-brokers," appeared. They did a thriving business in procuring substitutes for drafted men who, for one reason or another, did not want to go into the war. These recruits were frequently of a very poor class, and a large percentage of them took the first chance to desert. It is said that, out of 625 recruits sent to re-enforce one regiment, over 40 per cent. deserted on the way. In the general report of the Provost-Marshal-General made at the close of the war, the aggregate deserting was given at 201,397.

The result of all this was that the severest penalties were enforced for desertion. The President never ceased to abhor the death penalty for this offense. While he had as little sympathy as Stanton himself with the frauds practised and never commuted the sentence of a bounty-jumper, as far as I have been able to discover, over the great number of sentences he hesitated. He seemed to see what others ignored, the causes which were behind. Many and many a man deserted in the winter of 1862-1863 because of the Emancipation Proclamation. He did not believe the President had the right to issue it, and he refused to fight. Lincoln knew, too, that the "copperhead" agitation in the North reached the army, and that hundreds of men were being urged by parents and friends hostile to the Administration to desert. His indignation never was against the boy who yielded to this influence.

"Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts," he said, "while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious

when effected by getting a father, or brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings until he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator, and save the boy, is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy."

Another cause he never forgot was that mortal homesickness which so often ate the very heart out of a boy away from home for the first time. It filled many a hospital cot in the Civil War, and shriveled the nerves and sapped the courage until men forgot everything but home, and fled. Lincoln seemed to see in a flash the whole army history of these cases: the boy enlisting in the thrill of perhaps his first great passion; his triumphal march to the field; the long, hard months of seasoning; the deadly longing for home overtaking him; a chance to desert taken; the capture. He could not condemn such a boy to death.

The time Lincoln gave to listening to the intercessions of friends in behalf of condemned deserters, the extent of his clemency, is graphically shown in the manuscript records of the War Department which refer to prisoners of war. Scores of telegrams are filed there, written out by Lincoln himself, inquiring into the reasons for an execution or suspending it entirely. These telegrams, which have never been published, furnish the documentary proof, if any is wanted, of the man's great heart, his entire willingness to give himself infinite trouble to prevent an injustice or to soften a sorrow. "Suspend execution and forward record for examination," was his usual formula for telegrams of this nature. The record would be sent, but after it was in his hands he would defer its examination from week to week. Often he telegraphed, "Suspend execution of death sentence until

further orders." "But that does not pardon my boy," said a father to him once.

"My dear man," said the President, laying his hand on his shoulder, "do you suppose *I* will ever give orders for your boy's execution?"

In sending these orders for suspension of execution, the President frequently went himself personally to the telegraph office and watched the operator send them, so afraid was he that they might not be forwarded in time. To dozens of the orders sent over from the White House by a messenger is attached a little note signed by Mr. Lincoln, or by one of his secretaries, and directed to Major Eckert, the chief of the office: "Major Eckert, please send above despatch," or "Will you please hurry off the above? To-morrow is the day of execution." Not infrequently he repeated a telegram or sent a trailer after it inquiring, "Did you receive my despatch suspending sentence of ——?"

Difficulty in tracing a prisoner or in identifying him sometimes arose. The President only took additional pains. The following telegrams are to the point:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *November* 20, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE,
ARMY OF POTOMAC.

If there is a man by the name of K—— under sentence to be shot, please suspend execution till further order, and send record. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *November* 20, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE,
ARMY OF POTOMAC.

An intelligent woman in deep distress called this morning, saying her husband, a lieutenant in the Army of the Poto-

mac, was to be shot next Monday for desertion, and putting a letter in my hand, upon which I relied for particulars, she left without mentioning a name or other particular by which to identify the case. On opening the letter I found it equally vague, having nothing to identify it, except her own signature, which seems to be Mrs. A—— S. K——. I could not again find her. If you have a case which you think is probably the one intended, please apply my despatch of this morning to it. A. LINCOLN.

In another case, where the whereabouts of a man who had been condemned were unknown, Lincoln telegraphed himself to four different military commanders, ordering suspension of the man's sentence.

The execution of very young soldiers was always hateful to him. "I am unwilling for any boy under eighteen to be shot," he telegraphed Meade in reference to one prisoner. And in suspending another sentence he gave as an excuse, "His mother says he is but seventeen." This boy he afterward pardoned "on account of his tender age."

If a reason for pardoning was not evident, he was willing to see if one could not be found:

S—— W——, private in —— ——, writes that he is to be shot for desertion on the 6th instant. His own story is rather a bad one, and yet he tells it so frankly, that I am somewhat interested in him. Has he been a good soldier except the desertion? About how old is he?

A. LINCOLN.

Some of the deserters came very close to his own life. The son of more than one old friend was condemned for a military offense in the war, and in the telegrams is recorded Lincoln's treatment of these trying cases. In one of them the boy had enlisted in the Southern Army and had been taken a prisoner. "Please send him to me by an officer," the President telegraphed the military commander having him in charge. Four days later he telegraphed to the boy's father:

Your son —— has just left me with my order to the Secretary of War to administer to him the oath of allegiance, discharge him and send him to you.

In another case, where the son of a friend was under trial for desertion, Lincoln kept himself informed of the trial, telegraphing to the general in charge, "He is the son of so close a friend that I must not let him be executed."

And yet, in spite of the evident reluctance which every telegram shows to allowing the execution of a death sentence, there are many which prove that, unless he had what he considered a good reason for suspending a sentence, he would not do it. The following telegrams are illustrative:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *November* 23, 1863.

E. P. EVANS,
WEST UNION, ADAMS COUNTY, OHIO.

Yours to Governor Chase in behalf of J—— A. W—— is before me. Can there be a worse case than to desert, and with letters persuading others to desert? I cannot interpose without a better showing than you make. When did he desert? When did he write the letters? A. LINCOLN.

In this case sentence was later suspended "until further orders."

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 21, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX,
NEW YORK.

Yesterday I was induced to telegraph the officer in military command at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Massachusetts, suspending the execution of C—— C——, to be executed to-morrow for desertion. Just now, on reading your order in the case, I telegraphed the same order withdrawing

the suspension, and leaving the case entirely with you. man's friends are pressing me, but I refer them to you, intending to take no further action myself.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, CITY, *April* 25, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE,
ARMY OF POTOMAC.

A Mr. Corby brought you a note from me at the foot of a petition, I believe, in the case of D——, to be executed to-day. The record has been examined here, and it shows too strong a case for a pardon or commutation, unless there is something in the poor man's favor outside of the record, which you on the ground may know, but I do not. My note to you only means that if you know of any such thing rendering a suspension of the execution proper, on your own judgment, you are at liberty to suspend it. Otherwise I do not interfere. A. LINCOLN.

It is curious to note how the President found time to attend to these cases even on the most anxious days of his administration. On the very day on which he telegraphed to James G. Blaine in response to the latter's announcement that Maine had gone for the Union, "On behalf of the Union, thanks to Maine. Thanks to you personally for sending the news," he sent two telegrams suspending sentences. Such telegrams were sent on days of great battles, in the midst of victory, in the despair of defeat. Whatever he was doing, the fate of the sentenced soldier was on his heart. On Friday, which was usually chosen as execution day, he often was heard to say, "They are shooting a boy at —— to-day. I hope I have not done wrong to allow it." In spite of his frequent interference, there were 267 men executed by the United States military authorities during the Civil War. Of these, 141 were executed for desertion, and

eight for desertion coupled with some other crime, such as murder. After those for desertion, the largest number of executions were for murder, sixty-seven in all. As to the manner of the executions, one hundred and eighty-seven were shot, seventy-nine hung, and in one case the offender was sent out of the world by some unknown way.

Incidents and documents like those already given, showing the care and the sympathy President Lincoln felt for the common soldier, might be multiplied indefinitely. Nothing that concerned the life of the men in the line was foreign to him. The man might have shown cowardice. The President only said, "I never felt sure but I might drop my gun and run away if I found myself in line of battle." The man might be poor and friendless. "If he has no friends, I'll be his friend," Lincoln said. The man might have deserted. "Suspend execution, send me his record," was the President's order. He was not only the Commander-in-chief of all the armies of the United States, he was the father of the army, and never did a man better deserve a title than did he the one the soldiers gave him—"Father Abraham."

CHAPTER XXVIII

LINCOLN'S RE-ELECTION IN 1864

IT WAS not until the fall of 1863 that Abraham Lincoln was able to point to any substantial results from the long months of hard thought and cautious experiment he had given to the Civil War. By that time he did have something to show. The borders of the Confederacy had been pressed back and shut in by an impregnable wall of ships and men. Not only were the borders of the Confederacy narrowed; the territory had been cut in two by the opening of the Mississippi, which, in Lincoln's expressive phrase, now ran "unvexed to the sea." He had a war machine at last which kept the ranks of the army full. He had found a commander-in-chief in Grant; and, not less important, he had found, simultaneously with Grant, also Sherman, McPherson, and Thomas, as well as the proper places for the men with whom he had tried such costly experiments—for Burnside and Hooker. He had his first effective results, too, from emancipation, that policy which he had inaugurated with such foreboding. Fully 100,000 former slaves were now in the United States service, and they had proved beyond question their value as soldiers. More than this, it was evident that some form of emancipation would soon be adopted by the former slave States of Tennessee, Arkansas, Maryland, and Missouri.

At every point, in short, the policy which Lincoln had set in motion with painful foresight and labor was working as he had believed it would work, but it was working slowly. He saw that many months of struggle and blood and pa-

nence were needed to complete his task; many months—and in less than a year there would be a presidential election, and he might be obliged to leave his task unfinished. He did not hesitate to say frankly that he wanted the opportunity to finish it. Among the leaders of the Republican party were a few conservatives who, in the fall of 1863, supported Lincoln in his desire for a second term; but there were more who doubted his ability and who were secretly looking for an abler man. At the same time, a strong and open opposition to his re-election had developed in the radical wing of the party.

The real cause of this opposition was Lincoln's unswervable purpose to use emancipation purely as a military measure. The earliest active form this opposition took was probably under the direction of Horace Greeley. In the spring of 1863, Mr. Greeley had become thoroughly disheartened by the slow progress of the war and the meager results of the Emancipation Proclamation. He was looking in every direction for some one to replace Lincoln, and eventually he settled on General Rosecrans, who at that moment was the most successful general before the country. Greeley, after consulting with a number of Republican leaders, decided that some one should go to Rosecrans and sound him. James R. Gilmore ("Edmund Kirke") was chosen for this mission. Mr. Gilmore recounts, in his "Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," as an evidence of the extent of the discontent with Lincoln, that when he started on his mission, Mr. Greeley gave him letters to Rosecrans from about all the more prominent Republican leaders except Roscoe Conkling, Charles Sumner, and Henry Wilson.

Mr. Greeley's idea was, as he instructed Mr. Gilmore, to find out, first, if Rosecrans was "sound on the goose" (political slang for sound on the anti-slavery policy), and, secondly, if he would consider the nomination to the presi-

dency. If Mr. Gilmore found Rosecrans satisfactory, Greeley declared that he would force Lincoln to resign, put Hamlin in his place, and compel the latter to give Rosecrans the command of the whole army. His idea was, no doubt, that the war would then be finished promptly and Rosecrans would naturally be the candidate in 1864.

Mr. Gilmore went on his mission. Rosecrans seemed to him to fulfil Mr. Greeley's ideas, and finally he laid the case before him. The General replied very promptly: "My place is here. The country gave me my education, and so has a right to my military services." He also declared that Mr. Greeley was wrong in his estimate of Lincoln and that time would show it.

Lincoln knew thoroughly the feeling of the radicals at this time; he knew the danger there was to his hopes of a second term in opposing them; but he could be neither persuaded nor frightened into modifying his policy. The most conspicuous example of his firmness was in the case of the Missouri radicals.

The radical party in Missouri was composed of men of great intelligence and perfect loyalty; but they were men of the Frémont type, idealists, incapable of compromise and impatient of caution. They had been in constant conflict with the conservatives of the State since the breaking out of the war, and by the spring of 1863, the rupture had become almost a national affair. Both sides claimed to be Union men and to believe in emancipation; but while the conservatives believed in gradual emancipation, the radicals demanded that it be immediate. The fight became so bitter that, as Lincoln said to one of the radicals who came to him early in 1863, begging his interference: "Either party would rather see the defeat of their adversary than that of Jefferson Davis. You ought to have your heads knocked together," he added in his exasperation.

Finally, he determined that he must break up somehow what he called their "pestilent, factional quarrel," and sent a new military governor, General J. M. Schofield, to Missouri. The advice he gave him was this:

Let your military measures be strong enough to repel the invader and keep the peace, and not so strong as to unnecessarily harass and persecute the people. It is a difficult rôle, and so much greater will be the honor if you perform it well. If both factions, or neither, shall abuse you, you will probably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other.

General Schofield was not able to live up to Lincoln's counsel. He incurred the suspicion and dislike of the radicals, and they determined that he must be removed. September 1, a great convention was held, and a committee of seventy persons was appointed to go to Washington and demand from Mr. Lincoln a redress of grievances. The convention of course had the sympathy of the radical anti-slavery element of the whole North in its undertaking, and when the Committee of Seventy started for Washington they received an ovation in almost every State through which they passed. Arrived in Washington, they became the centre of the town's interest, and a great reception was given them in Union League Hall, at which eminent men denounced the conservatives of Missouri and demanded immediate emancipation.

Mr. Lincoln did not receive the Committee at once but sent for their Secretary, Dr. Emil Preetorius, a leading German Radical. Mr. Preetorius says:

"In response to a request from the President himself I immediately, in company with Senator 'Jim' Lane, called at the White House. Mr. Lane soon excused himself and left me alone with the President. I had a long talk with him,

explaining the situation in Missouri, as we Radicals viewed it, and stating just why we had come to Washington. We Germans had not felt so kindly toward Mr. Lincoln since he had set aside Frémont's proclamation of emancipation. We thought he had missed a great opportunity and had thereby displayed a lack of statesmanship. We believed him to be under the influence of the Blair family. Now that he himself had issued an emancipation proclamation we felt wronged because it applied only to the States in rebellion, and not to our own State. 'Thus,' I said to the President, 'you are really punishing us for our courage and patriotism.' We felt, as Gratz Brown expressed it, that we had to fight three administrations—Lincoln's, Jeff Davis's, and our own Governor Gamble's. We felt that we had a right to complain because Lincoln sent out to Missouri generals that were not in sympathy with us.

"Our talk was of the very frankest kind. Lincoln said he knew I was a German revolutionist and expected me to take extreme views. I recollect distinctly his statement that he would rather be a follower than a leader of public opinion. He had reference to public opinion in the Border States. 'We need the Border States,' said he. 'Public opinion in them has not matured. We must patiently educate them up to the right opinion.' The situation at that time was less favorable in the other Border States than in Missouri. Their Union men had not the strong fighters that Missouri had. As things were then going, the attitude of the Border States was of the very highest importance. I could realize that the more fully as Lincoln argued the case."

An arrangement was made for the President to receive the committee on September 30 and hear their statement of grievances. The imposing procession of delegates went to the White House at nine o'clock in the morning. At the Committee's own request, all reporters and spectators were refused admission to the audience, only the President and one of his secretaries meeting them. Even the great front doors of the White House were locked during the forenoon.

The conference began by the reading of an address which

denounced the conservative party, and demanded that General Schofield be removed and General Benjamin F. Butler be put in his place, and that the enrolled militia of the State be discharged and national troops replace them.

After the reading of the address, the President replied. Mr. Enos Clarke of St. Louis, who was one of the delegates, records the impression this reply made upon his mind:

"The President listened with patient attention to our address," says Mr. Clarke, "and at the conclusion of the reading replied at length. I shall never forget the intense chagrin and disappointment we all felt at the treatment of the matter in the beginning of his reply. He seemed to belittle and minimize the importance of our grievances and to give magnitude to minor or unimportant matters. He gave us the impression of a pettifogger speaking before a justice of the peace jury. But as he talked on and made searching inquiries of members of the delegation and invited debate, it became manifest that his manner at the beginning was really the foil of a master, to develop the weakness of the presentation. Before the conclusion of the conference, he addressed himself to the whole matter in an elevated, dignified, exhaustive, and impressive manner.

"There was no report made of this conference, but I remember that Mr. Lincoln made this statement: 'You gentlemen must bear in mind that in performing the duties of the office I hold I must represent no one section of the Union, but I must act for all sections of the Union in trying to maintain the supremacy of the government.' And he also said this: 'I desire to so conduct the affairs of this Administration that if, at the end, when I come to lay down the reins of power, I have lost every other friend on earth, I shall at least have one friend left, and that friend shall be down inside of me.' These were characteristic expressions.

"Toward the conclusion of the conference and after the whole matter had been exhaustively discussed by the President and the petitioners, Mr. C. D. Drake, our chairman, stepped forward and said: 'Mr. President, the time has now come when we can no longer trespass upon your attention,

but must take leave of you;' and in those deep, impressive, stentorian tones peculiar to Mr. Drake, he added, 'Many of these men who stand before you to-day return to inhospitable homes, where rebel sentiments prevail, and many of them, sir, in returning there do so at the risk of their lives, and if any of those lives are sacrificed by reason of the military administration of this government, let me tell you, sir, that their blood will be upon your garments and not upon ours.'

"During this impressive address the President stood before the delegation with tears streaming down his cheeks, seeming deeply agitated.

"The members of the delegation were then presented individually to the President and took leave of him. I shall always remember my last sight of Mr. Lincoln as we left the room. I was withdrawing, in company with others, and as I passed out I chanced to look back. Mr. Lincoln had met some personal acquaintances with whom he was exchanging pleasantries, and instead of the tears of a few moments before, he was indulging in hearty laughter. This rapid and wonderful transition from one extreme to the other impressed me greatly."

Ex-Governor Johnson of Missouri, another member of the committee, says of Lincoln's reply to their address:

"The President in the course of his reply hesitated a great deal and was manifestly, as he said, very much troubled over the condition of affairs in Missouri. He said he was sorry there should be such divisions and dissensions; that they were a source of more anxiety to him than we could imagine. He expressed his appreciation of the zeal of the radical men, but sometimes thought they did not understand the real situation. He besought us not to get out of humor because things were not going as rapidly as we thought they should. The war, he pointed out, affected a much larger territory than that embraced within the borders of Missouri, and possibly he had better opportunities of judging of things than some of us gentlemen. He spoke with great kindness, but all the way through showed his profound regret at the

condition of affairs in our State. He regretted especially that some of the men who had founded the Republican party should now be arrayed apparently against his administration.

"I had met Mr. Lincoln twice before then. This time he appeared different from what he had on the two former occasions. There was a perplexed look on his face. When he said he was bothered about this thing, he showed it. He spoke kindly, yet now and then there was a little rasping tone in his voice that seemed to say: 'You men ought to fix this thing up without tormenting me.' But he never lost his temper."

One of Mr. Lincoln's secretaries was present at this conference and made notes on Mr. Lincoln's answer to the delegation. The following sentences quoted from these notes in Nicolay and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln" show still further how plainly the President dealt with the committee:

"Your ideas of justice seem to depend on the application of it."

"When you see a man loyally in favor of the Union—willing to vote men and money—spending his time and money and throwing his influence into the recruitment of our armies, I think it ungenerous, unjust, and impolitic to make views on abstract political questions a test of his loyalty. I will not be a party to this application of a pocket inquisition.

"You appear to come before me as my friends, if I agree with you, and not otherwise. I do not here speak of mere personal friendship. When I speak of my friends I mean those who are friendly to my measures, to the policy of the Government. I am well aware that by many, by some even among this delegation—I shall not name them—I have been in public speeches and in printed documents charged with 'tyranny and wilfulness,' with a disposition to make my own personal will supreme. I do not intend to be a tyrant. At all events I shall take care that in my own eyes I do not become one."

Mr. Lincoln then sent the committee away, promising to reply by letter to their address. The events of the next day showed him more plainly than ever what a following they had. The night after the conference, Secretary Chase gave them a great reception at his house. He did not hesitate to say, in the course of the evening, that he was heartily in sympathy with their mission and that he hoped their military department would be entrusted to a gentleman whose motto was "Freedom for all." Going on to New York, the committee were given a great and enthusiastic meeting at Cooper Union: William Cullen Bryant made a sympathetic speech, and various members of the committee indulged in violent denunciations of the conservative element of the country, and did not hesitate to threaten Mr. Lincoln with revolutionary action if he did not yield to their demands.

Mr. Lincoln of course was not insensible to the political power of the Missouri radicals. He knew that this was a test case. He knew that they made their issue at a critical time for him, it being the eve of the fall elections. So important did his supporters consider it that he do something to pacify radical sentiment that Mr. Leonard Swett, one of his most intimate friends, and one heartily in sympathy with his policy, urged him, one day in October, to take a more advanced position and recommend in his annual message a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery:

> Turning to me suddenly, he said, "Is not the question of emancipation doing well enough now?" I replied it was. "Well," said he, "I have never done an official act with a view to promote my own personal aggrandizement, and I don't like to begin now. I can see that emancipation is coming; whoever can wait for it will see it; whoever stands in its way will be run over by it."

In spite of the pressure and threats of the Committee of

Seventy, Lincoln, when he answered their letter on October 5, yielded to none of their demands. He would not remove General Schofield. He would not discharge the enrolled militia.

He repeated that they were acting as factionists, declared that they had failed to convince him that General Schofield and the enrolled militia which they charged caused the suffering of the Union party in the State were responsible, and in a few remarkable paragraphs described what in his opinion was the cause of the trouble in Missouri:

> We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union with, but not without slavery—those for it without, but not with—those for it with or without, but prefer it with—and those for it with or without, but prefer it without.
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> Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for gradual, but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual extinction of slavery. It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned and motives are assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be first killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be amongst honest men only; but this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures deemed indispensable, but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges, and mur-

ders for pelf, proceed under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general.

He closed his letter refusing their requests with a few of those resolute sentences of which he was capable when he had made up his mind to do a thing in spite of all opposition:

I do not feel justified to enter upon the broad field you present in regard to the political differences between Radicals and Conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The public knows it all. It obliged nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody. The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things, for then they would agree with each other and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise; and I do not question their right. I too shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold whoever commands in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to bear all, but at last I must within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear.

There was no mistaking this letter of Lincoln. It told the radicals not only of Missouri, but of the whole North, that the President was not to be moved from his emancipation policy.

Another complaint which many Republicans as well as all Democrats made against Mr. Lincoln in 1864, was his interpretation of what constituted treason against the government. Their dissatisfaction culminated in what is known as the Vallandigham case. Mr. Vallandigham was an Ohio Democrat of the Copperhead variety who, from the beginning had opposed the war, although declaring himself for the Union. In the spring of 1863 his attacks on the administra

tion were particularly virulent. He accused the government of not being willing to meet the Confederacy and arrange a peace, of being unconstitutional in enforcing the draft and of making arbitrary military arrests and imprisonments. The party which he represented seemed to be growing in influence every day, and it was known that the efficiency of the army in the winter of 1862-63 had been seriously undermined by the influence of the Copperhead element at home. Mr. Lincoln was opposed to noticing any opposition of this kind unless driven to it, but not all of his subordinates felt the same way. Some of the generals in the army were especially incensed by it, among them General Burnside, then at the head of the Department of the Ohio, who, on April 13, 1863, issued an order in which he said:

"The habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy will not be allowed in this department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested with a view to being tried as above stated or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends.

"It must be distinctly understood that treason expressed or implied will not be tolerated in this department."

Mr. Vallandigham was angered by this order and in public addresses declared it a "base usurpation of arbitrary authority," which he should resist. General Burnside retaliated by ordering Vallandigham's arrest at Dayton, Ohio, after a public address in which he had declared among other things that the present war was a "wicked, cruel and unnecessary war;" "a war not being waged for the preservation of the Union;" "a war for the purpose of crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism;" "a war for the freedom of the blacks and the enslavement of the white;" stating "that if the Administration had so wished the war could have been honorably terminated months ago;" that "peace might have been

honorably obtained by listening to the proposed intermediation of France," etc., etc.

Vallandigham was tried soon after arrest by a military commission, pronounced guilty and sentenced to "close confinement in some fortress of the United States." The arrest, the trial by military instead of by civil court, the sentence, aroused a tremendous outcry throughout the country. The best newspapers, including the New York "Evening Post" and the New York "Tribune" condemned the government. Protests and applications for his release poured in upon the President.

It is probable that Mr. Lincoln regretted the arrest of Vallandigham, for he wrote Burnside afterward: "All the Cabinet regret the necessity of arresting . . . . . Vallandigham, some perhaps doubting there was a real necessity for it; but, being done, all were for seeing you through with it." Lincoln had, however, no idea of releasing Vallandigham. His one concern was to prevent the prisoner appearing to the country as a martyr for liberty, the victim of tyranny, and, taking the hint from Burnside's order he directed that "the prisoner be put beyond our military lines," that is, that he be sent over to the Confederates. General Burnside objected to this. His earnestness had so blinded his sense of humor that he did not see that this disposition of the prisoner would take away much of the sympathy and dignity which must always attend the tragedy of close confinement. Mr. Lincoln insisted, and finally Vallandigham, attended only by a military escort, was secretly conducted under a flag of truce within the lines of the Confederate general, Braxton Bragg.

There was nothing heroic about this turn in the affair. Vallandigham protested vehemently that he was not a sympathizer of the South, that he was for the Union. The Confederates were as disgusted as the prisoner. Mr. Lincoln,

they said to one another, intends to make a Botany Bay of the Confederacy. The Confederate Secretary of War wrote General Bragg in a rather irritable tone that it was clearly an abuse of the flag of truce to employ it to cover a guard over expelled citizens, non-combatants. An old friend of Vallandigham in Virginia offered the government to give him a home if he desired to remain in the Confederacy, but both Vallandigham and the Confederates saw the absurdity of the situation and desired only that it be changed as quickly as possible. Considerable correspondence passed between the prisoner and the authorities with the result that on June 2, Jefferson Davis ordered General Bragg to send Vallandigham, as an alien enemy, under guard of an officer, to Wilmington, and the Secretary of War wrote to the commissioner having the prisoner in charge, the following directions:

. . . It is not the desire or purpose of this government to treat this victim of unjust and arbitrary power with other than lenity and consideration, but as an alien enemy he cannot be received to friendly hospitality or allowed a continued refuge in freedom in our midst. This is due alike to our safety and to him in his acknowledged position as an enemy. You have therefore been charged with the duty, not inappropriate to the commission you hold in relation to prisoners, etc., of meeting him in Lynchburg, and there assuming direction and control of his future movements. He must be regarded by you as under arrest, permitted, unless in your discretion you deem it necessary to revoke the privilege to be at large on his parole not to attempt to escape nor hereafter to reveal to the prejudice of the Confederate States anything he may see or learn while therein. You will see that he is not molested or assailed or unduly intruded upon, and extend to him the attentions and kind treatment consistent with his relations as an alien enemy. After a reasonable delay with him at Lynchburg, to allow rest and recreation from the fatigues of his recent exposure and travel, you will proceed with him to Wilmington, N. C., and there de-

liver him to the charge of Major-General Whiting, commanding in that district, by whom he will be allowed at an early convenient opportunity to take shipping for any neutral port he may prefer, whether in Europe, the Islands, or on this Continent. More full instructions on this point will be given to General Whiting, and your duty will be discharged when you shall have conducted Mr. Vallandigham to Wilmington and placed him at the disposition of that commander.

These directions were carried out and Vallandigham sailed for Bermuda and thence for Halifax. August 27 the Provost-Marshal-General was notified that he was at Windsor, opposite Detroit.

Although Lincoln, by his adroit disposition of Vallandigham had taken much of the dignity out of his position, his supporters were determined to make the matter an issue, and on May 19 the New York Democrats, and again on June 26, the Ohio Democrats, while urging their loyalty to the Union protested against the arrest, and called upon the President to restore the exile to his home. Such arrests and trials as his were, they declared, contrary to the Constitution, a violation of the right of free speech and the right to a fair trial. On June 12 and June 29, Lincoln replied respectively to these protests in a couple of letters in which he defended his course. Only the briefest extract can be given here, but they show the clearness and boldness of his argument.

" . . . The resolutions promise to support me in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and I have not knowingly employed, nor shall knowingly employ, any other. But the meeting, by their resolutions assert and argue that certain military arrests, and proceedings following them, for which I am ultimately responsible, are unconstitutional. I think they are not.

". . . he who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be no defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.

" Ours is a case of rebellion—so called by the resolutions before me—in fact, a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of rebellion; and the provision of the Constitution that, 'the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it,' is the provision which specially applies to our present case.

. . . . . .

" Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the administration or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. He was warring upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandingham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonably satisfactory evidence.

" I understand the meeting whose resolutions I am considering to be in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force—by armies. Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction, this punishment.

. . . . . .

" If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public

safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does not require them; in other words, that the Constitution is not in its application in all respects the same in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security. The Constitution itself makes the distinction, and I can no more be persuaded that the government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man because it can be shown to not be good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting, that the American people will by means of military arrests during the rebellion lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and habeas corpus throughout the indefinite peaceful future which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life."

The Democrats called the letter despotic, but the people saw the sound sense of the arguments, and when in the fall Vallandigham, still in exile, was run for Governor of Ohio, he was defeated by over 100,000 votes. When a few months later he dared the President, came back and began to make violent speeches, no attention was paid to him. The right of the President to suppress any man who hurt the army and thus the Union cause was clearly fixed in the people's mind. If anybody wavered, Lincoln's letters were brought out. Vallandigham henceforth rather helped than injured the President.

The first effect of Lincoln's resolution in enforcing his own policy was to stimulate the search his opponents were making for a man to put in his place. At that time—the fall of 1863—Grant was the military hero of the country,

and his name began to be urged for the Presidency. Now Lincoln had never seen Grant. Was he a man whose head could be turned by a sudden notoriety? Could it be that, just as he had found the commander for whom he had searched so long, he was to lose him through a burst of popular gratitude and hero-worship? He decided to find out Grant's feeling. He did this through Mr. J. Russell Jones of Chicago, a friend of the General.

"In 1863," says Mr. Jones, "some of the newspapers, especially the New York 'Herald,' were trying to boom Grant for the Presidency.* While General Grant was at Chattanooga, I wrote him, in substance, that I did not wish to meddle with his affairs, but that I could not resist suggesting that he pay no attention to what the newspapers were saying in that connection. He immediately replied, saying that everything of that nature which reached him went into the waste-basket; that he felt he had as big a job on hand as one man need desire; that his only ambition was to suppress the rebellion; and that, even if he had a desire to be President, he could not possibly entertain the thought of becoming a candidate for the office, nor of accepting a nomination were one tendered him, so long as there was a possibility of keeping Mr. Lincoln in the presidential chair. The whole spirit of his letter was one of the most perfect devotion to Lincoln.

"Before this letter reached me, however, President Lincoln telegraphed me to come to Washington. The telegram gave no hint of the business upon which he wished to see me, and I had no information upon which to found even a suspicion of its nature. On my way to the train I stopped at my office, in the postoffice building, and in passing my box in the postoffice I opened it and took out several letters. I put them into my pocket, and did not look at them until after I had gotten aboard the train. I then discovered that one of the letters was from General Grant; it was the letter of which

*The "Herald" published its first editorial advocating Grant on December 15, 1863. It was headed, "Grant as the People's Candidate."

I have already spoken. The circumstance has always seemed to me to have been providential.

"Upon my arrival at Washington, I sent word to the President that I had arrived and would be glad to call whenever it was most convenient and agreeable for him to receive me. He sent back a request for me to call that evening at eight o'clock. I went to the White House at that hour.

"When the President had gotten through with the persons with whom he was engaged, I was invited into his room. The President then gave directions to say to all that he was engaged for the evening. Mr. Lincoln opened the conversation by saying that he was anxious to see somebody from the West with whom he could talk upon the general situation and had therefore sent for me. Mr. Lincoln made no allusion whatever to Grant. I had been there but a few minutes, however, when I fancied he would like to talk about Grant, and I interrupted him by saying:

"'Mr. President, if you will excuse me for interrupting you, I want to ask you kindly to read a letter that I got from my box as I was on my way to the train.'

"Whereupon I gave him Grant's letter. He read it with evident interest. When he came to the part where Grant said that it would be impossible for him to think of the presidency as long as there was a possibility of retaining Mr. Lincoln in the office, he read no further, but arose and, approaching me, put his hand on my shoulder and said:

"'My son, you will never know how gratifying that is to me. No man knows, when that presidential grub gets to gnawing at him, just how deep it will get until he has tried it; and I didn't know but what there was one gnawing at Grant.'

"The fact was that this was just what Mr. Lincoln wanted to know. He had said to Congressman Washburne, as I afterwards ascertained:

"'About all I know of Grant I have got from you. I have never seen him. Who else besides you knows anything about Grant?'

"Washburne replied:

"'I know very little about him. He is my townsman, but I never saw very much of him. The only man who really

knows Grant is Jones. He has summered and wintered with him.' (This was an allusion to the winter I spent with Grant in Mississippi, at the time Van Dorn got into Holly Springs.)

"It was this statement of Washburne's which caused Lincoln to telegraph me to come to Washington."

But there were other names than Grant's in the mouth of the opposition. All through the winter of 1863-1864, in fact, the great majority of the Republican leaders were discussing different candidates. One of the men whom they approached was the Vice-President, Hannibal Hamlin. He was a man of strong anti-slavery feeling, and it was well known that Lincoln never had gone fast enough to suit him. Would he accept the candidacy? he was asked. Mr. Hamlin would not listen to the suggestion. Lincoln, he said, was his friend. Their views were not always the same, but he believed in Lincoln, and would not be untrue to his official relation. Not every member of the official family, however, had the same sense of loyalty. Indeed, before the end of 1863, an active campaign for the nomination was being conducted by one of the members of the cabinet, Mr. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Chase had been a rival of Lincoln in 1860. He had gone into the cabinet with a feeling very like that of Mr. Seward, that Lincoln was an inexperienced man, incapable of handling the situation, and that he or Mr. Seward would be the premier. Mr Seward soon found that Lincoln was the master, and he was great enough to acknowledge the supremacy. But Mr. Chase was never able to realize Lincoln's greatness. He continued to regard him as an inferior mind, and seemed to believe, honestly enough, that the people would prefer himself as President if they could only have an opportunity to vote for him. All through the winter of 1863-1864 he carried on a voluminous private correspond-

ence in the interests of his nomination, and about the middle of the winter he consented that his name be submitted to the people. The first conspicuous effort to promote his candidacy was a circular marked "confidential," sent out in February 1864, by Senator Pomeroy of Kansas, calling on the country to organize in behalf of Mr. Chase. The Secretary hastened to assure Mr. Lincoln that he knew nothing of this circular until he saw it in the newspapers, but he confessed that he had consented that his name be used as a presidential candidate, and said that if Mr. Lincoln felt that this impaired his usefulness as Secretary of the Treasury, he did not wish to continue in his position.

Lincoln had known for many months of Mr. Chase's anxiety for the nomination, but he had studiously ignored it. He could not be persuaded by anybody to do anything to interrupt Mr. Chase's electioneering. Now that the Secretary had called his attention to the matter of the circular, however, he replied courteously, though indifferently:

". . . My knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's letter having been made public came to me only the day you wrote; but I had, in spite of myself, known of its existence several days before. I have not yet read it, and I think I shall not. I was not shocked or surprised by the appearance of the letter, because I had had knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's committee, and of secret issues which, I supposed came from it, and of secret agents who I supposed were sent out by it, for several weeks. I have known just as little of these things as my friends have allowed me to know. They bring the documents to me, but I do not read them; they tell me what they think fit to tell me, but I do not inquire for more. . . .

"Whether you shall remain at the head of the Treasury Department is a question which I will not allow myself to consider from any standpoint other than my judgment of the public service, and, in that view, I do not perceive occasion for a change."

Mr. Chase was free, as far as Lincoln was concerned, to conduct his presidential campaign from his seat in the cabinet. But the Republicans of his State were not willing that he should do so, and three days after the Pomeroy circular first appeared in print, the Union members of the legislature demanded, in the name of the people and of the soldiers of Ohio, that Lincoln be renominated. There was nothing to do then but for Mr. Chase to withdraw.

Indeed, it was already becoming evident to Lincoln's most determined antagonists in the party that it would be useless for them to try to nominate anybody else. On all sides—in State legislatures, Union leagues, caucuses—the people were demanding that Lincoln be renominated. The case was a curious one. Four years before, Lincoln had been nominated for the Presidency of the United States because he was an available candidate, not from any general confidence that he was the best man in the Republican party for the place. Now, on the contrary, it was declared that he would have to be nominated because he had won the confidence of the people so completely that no candidate would have any chance against him. In four years he had risen from a position of comparative obscurity to be the most generally trusted man in the North. The great reason for this confidence was that the people understood exactly what he was trying to do and why he was trying to do it. From the beginning of his Administration, in fact, Lincoln had taken the people into his confidence. Whenever a strong opposition to his policy developed in any quarter, it was his habit to explain in a public letter exactly why he was doing what he was doing, and why he was not doing the thing he was urged to do. He had written such a letter to Greeley in August, 1862, explaining his view of the relation of emancipation to the war; such were his letters in June, 1863, replying to the Democrats of New York and Ohio who protested

against the arrest of Vallandigham for treasonable speech; such his letter to James C. Conkling in August, 1863, explaining his views of peace, of emancipation, of colored troops. These public letters are Lincoln's most remarkable state papers. They are invincible in their logic and incomparable in their simplicity and lucidity of expression. By means of them he convinced the people of his own rigid mental honesty, put reasons for his actions into their mouths, gave them explanations which were demonstrations. They believed in him because he had been frank with them, and because he tried to make matters so clear to them, used words they could understand, kept the principle free from all non-essential and partisan considerations.

Scarcely less important than these letters in convincing the people of the wisdom of his policy were Lincoln's stories and sayings. In February, 1864, just after the popular demand for his renomination began to develop, the New York "Evening Post" published some two columns of Lincoln's stories. The New York "Herald" jeered at the collection as the "first electioneering document" of the campaign, and reprinted them as a proof of the unfitness of Lincoln for the presidency. But jeer as it would, the "Herald" could not hide from its readers the wit and the philosophy of the jokes. Every one of them had been used to explain a point or to settle a question, and under their laughter was concealed some of the man's soundest reasoning. Indeed, at that very moment the "Herald" might have seen, if it had been more discerning, that it was a Lincoln saying going up and down the country that was serving as one the strongest arguments for his renomination, the remark that it is never best to swap horses in crossing a stream. Lincoln had used it in speaking of the danger of changing Presidents in the middle of the war. He might have written a long message on the value of experience in a national crisis, and it would have been

meaningless to the masses; but this homely figure of swapping horses in the middle of the stream appealed to their humor and their common sense. It was repeated over and over in the newspapers of the country. It was in every man's mouth, and was of inestimable value in helping plain people to see the danger of changing Presidents while the war was going on.

The Union convention was set for June. As the time approached, Lincoln enthusiasm grew. It was fed by Grant's steady beating back of Lee toward Richmond. The country, wild with joy, cried out that before July Grant would be in the Confederate capital and the war would be ended. The opposition to Lincoln that had worked so long steadily dwindled in the face of military success, until all of which it was capable was a small convention in May, in Cleveland, at which Frémont was nominated.

The Union convention met in June. That it would nominate Lincoln was a foregone conclusion. "The convention has no candidate to choose," said the Philadelphia "Press." "Choice is forbidden it by the previous action of the people." The preliminary work of the convention, seating delegates and framing a platform, was rapidly disposed of. Then on June 8, after a skirmish about the method of nominating the candidates, Illinois presented the name of Abraham Lincoln. A call of States was immediately taken. One after another they answered: Pennsylvania for Lincoln, New York for Lincoln, New England solid for him, Kentucky solid, and so on through the thirty States and Territories represented; only one dissenting delegation in the entire thirty: Missouri, whose radical Union representatives gave twenty-two votes for Grant. On the second reading of the vote this ballot was changed, so that the final vote stood 506 for Lincoln.

The President took his renomination calmly. "I do not

allow myself to suppose," he said to a delegation from the National Union League which came to congratulate him, "that either the convention or the League have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or best man in America, but rather they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river, and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it trying to swap."

The renomination of Lincoln had taken place when the country and the Administration were rejoicing in Grant's successes and still prophesying that the war was practically over. The developments of the next few days after the nomination put a new look on the military situation. Instead of entering Richmond, Grant attacked Petersburg; but before he could capture it the town had been so re-enforced that it was evident nothing but a siege could reduce it. Now the Army of the Potomac in its march from the Rapidan to the James, extending from May 4th to June 24th, had lost nearly 55,000 men. If Petersburg was to be besieged, it was clear that the army must be re-enforced, that there must be another draft. The President had hinted that this was possible only a week after his nomination, in an address in Philadelphia at a sanitary fair:

"If I shall discover," he asked, "that General Grant and the noble officers and men under him can be greatly facilitated in their work by a sudden pouring forward of men and assistance, will you give them to me? Are you ready to march?" Cries of "yes" answered him. "Then I say, stand ready," he replied, "for I am watching for the chance."

A few days later he visited Grant, and rode the lines in front of Petersburg. All that he saw, all the events of the following days, only made it clearer to him that there must be another outpouring of men. His friends besought him to

try to get on without it. The country was growing daily more discouraged as it realized that its hope of speedy victory was vain. A new draft would arouse opposition, give a new weapon to the Democrats, make his re-election uncertain: he could not afford it. He refused their counsels. "We must lose nothing even if I am defeated," he said. "I am quite willing the people should understand the issue. My re-election will mean that the rebellion is to be crushed by force of arms." And on July 18, he called for 500,000 volunteers for one, two, and three years.

All the discontent that had been prophesied broke forth on this call. The awful brutality of the war came upon the country as never before. There was a revulsion of feeling against the sacrifice going on, such as had not been experienced since the war began. All the complaints that had been urged against Lincoln both by radical Republicans and by Democrats broke out afresh. The draft was talked of as if it were the arbitrary freak of a tyrant. It was declared that Lincoln had violated constitutional rights, personal liberty, the liberty of the press, the rights of asylum; that, in short, he had been guilty of all the abuses of a military dictator. Much bitter criticism was made of his treatment of peace overtures. It was declared that the Confederates were anxious to make peace, and had taken the first steps, but that Lincoln was so bloodthirsty that he was unwilling to use any means but force. Even Horace Greeley joined now in this criticism, though up to this summer he had stood with the President on the question. In May, 1864, when Congressman Dawson proposed in the Senate that the North should "tender the olive branch of peace as an exchange for the sword," the "Tribune" ridiculed the idea and suggested that Mr. Dawson, without waiting for the House to adopt his resolution, should start at once on his private account for the camp of General Lee "with a whole cart-load of olive

branches." "Some good may come of it," said Mr. Greeley; "Mr. Dawson may possibly be treated as a spy."

Later, when peace was proposed in the Confederate Congress, Mr. Greeley said:

"Speaking generally, it is safe to say that if there had been any foundation other than the unconditional surrender of the 'Confederacy,' upon which to build it, we would have had peace long ago. But the quarrel is a mortal one . . . . there can be no peace the terms of which are not dictated and enforced by the Congress of the United States."

On June 10, in answer to an attack on the administration for refusing to allow a Confederate gun-boat to bring Stephens to Washington, Greeley said:

"The naked truth lies here: Up to this hour the rebels have never been ready or willing to treat with our government on any other footing than that of independence; and this we have not been inclined to concede. When they (or we) have been beaten into a willingness to concede the vital matter in dispute, negotiations for peace will be in order—and not till then."

In spite of these utterances however, Mr. Greeley wavered in July, upon receiving from an irresponsible and officious individual known as "Colorado Jewett," a communication stating that two ambassadors of "Davis and Company" were in Canada with full and complete powers for a peace, and requesting Mr. Greeley to come immediately to Niagara, Taking the matter seriously he wrote the President a long and hysterical letter, urging that the offer be accepted, and some one sent to Niagara. Mr. Lincoln saw his chance to demonstrate to the country the futility of peace negotiations. He replied immediately appointing Greeley himself as an ambassador to meet the parties.

"If you can find any person anywhere," he wrote, "professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis in writing for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you; and that if he really brings such proposition, he shall at the least have safe conduct with the paper (and without publicity, if he chooses) to the point where you shall have met him. The same if there be two or more persons."

This was a turn that the editor of the "Tribune" had evidently not expected, but Mr. Lincoln insisted that he carry out the commission, his only conditions being the ones stated above, and he sent him the following paper:

"To Whom It May Concern: Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways. ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

Mr. Greeley went to Niagara, but as it turned out the persons whom he had taken seriously had no authority whatever from Davis, and they declared that no negotiations for peace were possible if Mr. Lincoln's conditions must be conceded. So the conference, which ran over a number of days, and which was enveloped in much mystery, fell through. At the end it got into the newspapers, though only a portion of the correspondence was published at the time. It was evident to people of sense however, that Mr. Greeley had been hoodwinked. It was evident, too, that the President was willing to carry on peace negotiations if those points for which the war had been fought were yielded. All the effectiveness of peace cries after this, was gone. Senator

Harlan of Iowa, who, with other Republicans, appreciated thoroughly the clever way in which Lincoln had disposed of the editor of the "Tribune," said to him one day on the terrace of the White House: "Some of us think, Mr. Lincoln, that you didn't send a very good ambassador to Niagara." "Well, I'll tell you about that, Harlan," replied the President, "Greeley kept abusing me for not entering into peace

LEGEND SCRATCHED ON A WINDOW PANE BY J. WILKES BOOTH, AT MEADVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA, AUGUST, 1864.

negotiations. He said he believed we could have peace if I would do my part and when he began to urge that I send an ambassador to Niagara to meet Confederate emissaries, I just thought I would let him go up and crack that nut for himself."

As July dragged on and August passed there was no break in the gloom. Farragut was threatening Mobile; Sherman,

Atlanta; Grant, Petersburg; but all of these three great undertakings seemed to promise nothing but a fruitless slaughter of men. The despair and indignation of the country in this dreadful time all centered on Lincoln. Republicans, hopeless of reëlecting him, talked of replacing him by another candidate. The Democrats argued that the war and all its woes were the direct result of his tyrannical and unconstitutional policy The more violent intimated that he should be put out of the way. A sign of the bitterness against him little noted at the moment, but sinister in the light of after events, was an inscription found one August morning written on the window of a room in a Meadville (Pennsylvania) hotel. The room had been occupied the night before by a favorite actor, J. Wilkes Booth. The inscription ran: "Abe Lincoln Departed this Life Aug. 13th, 1864, By the effects of Poison."

In the dreadful uproar of discontent one cry alarmed Lincoln more than all others; this was the revival of the demand that Grant be presented for the presidency. It was not so much the fear of defeat by Grant that affected him as it was the dread that the campaign would be neglected if the General went into politics. He concluded that he ought to sound Grant again. Colonel John Eaton (now General), a friend of Grant, was in Washington at the time and often with Mr. Lincoln. Referring to the efforts making to nominate Grant, Lincoln asked if the Colonel knew what the General thought of the attempt. No, the Colonel said, he didn't.

"Well," said Lincoln, "if Grant is the great general we think he is, he must have some consciousness of it, and know that he cannot be satisfied with himself and secure the credit due for his great generalship if he does not finish the job." And he added, "I don't believe they can get him to run."

The President then asked the Colonel if he could not go to Grant and find out for him how the General felt. Colonel

Eaton started at once on his errand. Reaching headquarters and being received by the General, he worked his way to the subject by recounting how he had met persons recently in travelling who had asked him if he thought Grant could be induced to run against Lincoln, not as a partisan, but as a citizen's candidate, to save the Union. Grant brought his hand down emphatically on the strap arm of his camp-chair. "They can't do it! They can't compel me to do it!"

"Have you said this to the President?" asked Colonel Eaton.

"No," said Grant, "I have not thought it worth while to assure the President of my opinion. I consider it as important for the cause that he should be elected as that the army should be successful in the field."

Lincoln's friends took the situation at this period more seriously than he. Their alarm is graphically pictured in the following letter from Leonard Swett to his wife. It was probably written toward the end of August:

ASTOR HOUSE, NEW YORK,
Monday, , 1864.

My Dear Wife: The fearful things in relation to the country have induced me to stay a week here. I go to Washington to-night, and can't see how I can get away from there before the last of the week.

A summary of movements is as follows:

The malicious foes of Lincoln are calling or getting up a Buffalo convention to supplant him. They are Sumner, Wade, Henry Winter Davis, Chase, Frémont, Wilson, etc.

The Democrats are conspiring to resist the draft. We seized this morning three thousand pistols going to Indiana for distribution. The war Democrats are trying to make the Chicago nominee a loyal man. The peace Democrats are trying to get control of the Government, and through alliance with Jefferson Davis, to get control of both armies and make universal revolution necessary.

The most fearful things are probable.

I am acting with Thurlow Weed, Raymond, etc., to try to avert. There is not much hope.

Unless material changes can be wrought, Lincoln's election is beyond any possible hope. It is probably clean gone now.*

Lincoln himself had made up his mind that he would be defeated. What would be his duty then? It was so clear to him, that he wrote it down on a slip of paper:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *August* 23, 1864.

This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to so co-operate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he cannot possibly save it afterward.

A. LINCOLN.†

He folded the slip, and when the cabinet met, he asked the members to put their names on the back. What was inside he did not tell them. In the incessant buffeting of his life he had learned that the highest moral experience of which a man is capable is standing clear before his own conscience. He laid the paper away, a compact with his conscience in case of defeat.

The Democrats had deferred their national convention as long as possible, hoping for a military situation which would enable them to win the people. They could not have had a situation more favorable to their plans. But they miscalculated in one vital particular. They took the despair of the country as a sign that peace would be welcome even at the

* Letter loaned by Mr. Leonard Herbert Swett, of Aurora, Ill.
† "Abraham Lincoln; A History." By Nicolay and Hay.

cost of the Union, and they adopted a peace platform. They nominated on this platform a candidate vowed to war and to the Union, General McClellan. So unpopular was the combination that General McClellan, in accepting the nomination, practically repudiated the platform.

But at this moment something further interfered to save the Administration. Sherman captured Atlanta, and Farragut took Mobile Bay. "Sherman and Farragut," said Seward, "have knocked the bottom out of the Chicago nominations." If they had not quite done that, they had at least given heart to Lincoln's supporters, who went to work with a will to secure his re-election. The following letter by Leonard Swett shows something of what was done:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *September* 8, 1864.

My Dear Wife: There has never been an instance in which Providence has kindly interposed in our behalf in our national struggles in so marked and essential manner as in the recent Union victories.

You know I had become very fearful before leaving home. When I arrived in New York, I found the most alarming depression possessing the minds of all the Republicans, Greeley, Beecher, Raymond, Weed; and all the small politicians without exception utterly gave up in despair. Raymond, the chairman of the National Committee, not only gave up, but would do nothing. Nobody would do anything. There was not a man doing anything except mischief.

A movement was organizing to make Mr. Lincoln withdraw or call a convention and supplant him.

I felt it my duty to see if some action could not be inaugurated. I got Raymond, after great labor, to call the committee at Washington three days after I would arrive here, and came first to see if Mr. Lincoln understood his danger and would help to set things in motion. He understood fully the danger of his position, and for once seemed anxious I should try to stem the tide bearing him down. When the

committee met, they showed entire want of organization and had not a dollar of money.

Maine was calling for speakers. Two men were obtained, and I had to advance them a hundred dollars each to go.

The first gleam of hope was in the Chicago convention. The evident depression of the public caused the peace men to control that convention, and then, just as the public began to shrink from accepting it, God gave us the victory at Atlanta, which made the ship right itself, as a ship in a storm does after a great wave has nearly capsized it.

Washburne, of Illinois, a man of great force, came, and he and I have been working incessantly. I have raised and provided one hundred thousand dollars for the canvass.

Don't think this is for improper purposes. It is not. Speakers have to be paid. Documents have to be sent, and innumerable expenses have to be incurred.

The Secessionists are flooding the Northwest with money. Voorhees and Vallandigham are arming the people there, and are trying to make the draft an occasion for an uprising. We are in the midst of conspiracies equal to the French Revolution.

I have felt it my solemn duty under these circumstances to stay here. I have been actuated by no other motive than that of trying to save our country from further dismemberment and war. People from the West, and our best people, say if we fail now the West will surely break off and go with the South. Of course that would be resisted, and the resistance would bring war.*

All through September and October the preparation for the November election continued. The loyal governors of the North, men to whom the Union cause owed much more than has ever been fully realized, worked incessantly. The great orators of the Republican party were set at work, Carl Schurz even giving up his opportunity in the army to take the platform, and many an officer and private who had influence in their communities going home on furloughs to aid in electioneering. The most elaborate preparations were

*Letter loaned by Mr. Herbert Leonard Swett of Aurora, Ill.

made for getting the vote of every man, most of the States allowing the soldiers to vote in the field. Where this was not arranged for, the War Department did its utmost to secure furloughs for the men. Even convalescents from the hospitals were sent home to vote.

In this great burst of determined effort Lincoln took little part. The country understood, he believed, exactly what his election meant. It meant the preservation of the Union by force. It meant that he would draft men so long as he needed them; that he would suspend the writ of habeas corpus, and employ a military tribunal, whenever he deemed it necessary. It meant, too, that he would do his utmost to secure an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery forever, for the platform the Union convention had adopted before nominating him contained that plank. He could not be persuaded by the cautious and timid to modify or obscure this policy. He wanted the people to understand exactly what he intended, he said, and whenever he did speak or write, it was only to reiterate his principles in his peculiarly plain, unmistakable language. Nor would he allow any interference with the suffrage of men in office. They must vote as they pleased. "My wish is," he wrote to the postmaster of Philadelphia, who had been accused of trying to control the votes of his subordinates, "that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than as he thinks fit with his."

Thus when the election finally came off, on November 8, there was not a man of any intelligence in the country who did not know exactly what he was voting for, if he voted for Lincoln. What these men thought of him the work of that day showed. Out of 233 electoral votes, General McClellan received twenty-one, 212 being for Lincoln. The opportunity to finish the task was now his.

CHAPTER XXIX

LINCOLN'S WORK IN THE WINTER OF 1864-65—HIS SECOND INAUGURATION

OUT of the election Lincoln got profound satisfaction. He had striven to his utmost to let the people know what he was trying to do—this overwhelming vote for him coming after the dire discouragement of the summer, proved that they understood him and were with him. "I am deeply thankful to God for this approval of the people," he told a band of serenaders. But there was something beside personal triumph in his reflections on the elections. Since the beginning of the war Lincoln had repeatedly told the people that Republican institutions were at stake. In his first address to Congress, July 4, 1861, he said: "Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it."

Three years of internal war had not been able to unseat the government. But what would be the effect of a presidential election added to war? The warmest friends of republican institutions feared that the strain would be too great.

"It has long been a grave question," said Lincoln a few days after the election, "whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a

severe test, and a presidential election occurring in regular course during the rebellion, added not a little to the strain.

"If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. * * * But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility."

Another fact vital to Mr. Lincoln's policy was proved by the election. The North was far from exhaustion in "the most important branch of national resources—that of living men."

"While it is melancholy to reflect,'" the President said in his December address to Congress, "that the war had filled so many graves, and carried mourning to so many hearts, it is some relief to know that compared with the surviving, the fallen have been so few. While corps, and divisions, and brigades, and regiments have formed, and fought, and dwindled, and gone out of existence, a great majority of the men who composed them are still living. The same is true of the naval service. The election returns prove this. So many voters could not else be found. The States regularly holding elections, both now and four years ago . . . cast 3,982,011 votes now, against 3,870,222 cast then; showing an aggregate now of 3,982,011. To this is to be added 33,762 cast now in the new States of Kansas and Nevada, which States did not vote in 1860; thus swelling the aggregate to 4,015,773, and the net increase during the three years and a half of war, to 145,551. . To this again should be added the number of all soldiers in the field from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey,

Delaware, Indiana, Illinois, and California, who by the laws of those States could not vote away from their homes, and which number cannot be less than 90,000. Nor yet is this all. The number in organized Territories is triple now what it was four years ago, while thousands, white and black, join us as the national arms press back the insurgent lines. So much is shown, affirmatively and negatively by the election.

"It is not material to inquire how the increase has been produced, or to show that it would have been greater but for the war, which is probably true. The important fact remains demonstrated that we have more men now than we had when the war began; that we are not exhausted, nor in process of exhaustion; that we are gaining strength, and may, if need be, maintain the contest indefinitely. This as to men. Material resources are now more complete and abundant than ever."

Approved by the people, convinced that the institutions of the country had successfully resisted the worst strain which could be given them, inexhaustible resources at his command, Lincoln took up his task. To put an end to the armed resistance to the union was the first duty. This had got to be done by war not by negotiation. He put it plainly to Congress in December:

"On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union—precisely what we will not and cannot give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. He cannot voluntarily re-accept the Union; we cannot voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory. If we yield, we are beaten; if the Southern people fail him, he is beaten. Either way it would be the victory and defeat following war."

By this time the boundaries of the Confederacy had been so narrowed, their territory so divided by invading armies that it seemed to all observers that they must soon yield. The Mississippi was open and the territory on each side practically under federal control. Louisiana was under military government. Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee were so cleared of troops that they had produced fair crops. Three ports, Norfolk, Fernandina and Pensacola, were opened on December 1 to commercial intercourse excepting of course "persons, things and information contraband of war." Grant held Lee and the bulk of the Confederate army at Richmond. Sherman who had taken Atlanta in August had marched three hundred miles directly through the Confederate country destroying everything as he went. Nobody knew just then where he would come out but it was certain he could be counted on to hold the Confederate force under Johnston in check. Besides the armies under Lee and Johnston there were other smaller forces holding positions, but it was evident that if Lee and Johnston were defeated, the surrender of these smaller forces was inevitable. The Confederate navy, too, had been destroyed by this time. The task seemed short, yet such was the courage, the resourcefulness, the audacity in attack and defense which the Confederates had shown from the beginning of the war that Mr. Lincoln was the last man in the North to relax efforts. Although he had an army of nearly a million men enrolled at the time of his re-election, on December 19, he called for 300,000 volunteers to serve for one, two or three years.

A week after this call Sherman "came out" and presented the country Savannah as a Christmas gift. The letter Lincoln wrote him, is worthy to be placed beside the one he wrote to Grant after Vicksburg:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *December* 26, 1864.

MY DEAR GENERAL SHERMAN:

Many, many thanks for your Christmas gift, the capture of Savannah.

When you were about leaving Atlanta for the Atlantic coast, I was anxious, if not fearful; but feeling that you were the better judge, and remembering that "nothing risked, nothing gained," I did not interfere. Now, the undertaking being a success, the honor is all yours; for I believe none of us went further than to acquiesce.

And taking the work of General Thomas into the count, as it should be taken, it is indeed a great success. Not only does it afford the obvious and immediate military advantages; but in showing to the world that your army could be divided, putting the stronger part to an important new service, and yet leaving enough to vanquish the old opposing force of the whole,—Hood's army,—it brings those who sat in darkness to see a great light. But what next?

I suppose it will be safe if I leave General Grant and yourself to decide.

Please make my grateful acknowledgments to your whole army—officers and men.

Yours very truly,
A. LINCOLN.

Although the great majority of the country agreed with Mr. Lincoln that the issue between North and South "could only be tried by war, and decided by victory," advocates of peace conferences still nagged the President, begging that if they were allowed to go South or if commissioners from the South were allowed to come North everything could be adjusted. Among these peace-makers was Francis P. Blair, Sr. He knew the South well, he believed honestly enough, no doubt, that mediation would be successful. Finally at the end of December the president gave him a

pass through the lines. Blair saw President Davis and from him received a letter saying that if Blair would promise that a confederate commissioner, minister or other agent would be received by President Lincoln he would appoint one at once "with a view to secure peace to the two countries."

Mr. Lincoln answered:

"You having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue ready to receive any agent whom he, or any other influential person now resisting the national authority, may informally send to me, with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country."

It is evident from the letters of the two leaders that neither yielded on the essential point at issue. Jefferson Davis recognized "two countries," Abraham Lincoln "one common country." The upshot of Mr. Blair's mediation was that President Davis sent three commissioners, Alexander H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter and John A. Campbell, all members of the Confederate government, to Grant's headquarters for conference. Lincoln sent Seward to meet the commissioners with instructions that three things were indispensable to mediation:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.
2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents.
3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

Before Seward had met the commission Lincoln decided to join him and a meeting was arranged at Fortress Monroe, the Confederate envoys being conducted to the steamer *River Queen* where Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward were quartered.

The meeting of the men, all of them acquaintances in earlier days, was cordial and they began and ended their conference in an entirely friendly mood. But from the outset it was evident that nothing would come of it. There was but one way to end the war, Mr. Lincoln told them frankly, and that was for those who were resisting the laws of the Union to cease their resistance. He would grant no armistice—would in no way recognize the States—so long as they were in arms. He would make no promises as to reconstruction after the war had ceased until they had given him a pledge of reunion and of cessation of resistance. Mr. Hunter attempted to argue this point with him. There was precedent, he said, for an executive entering into agreement with persons in arms against public authority. Charles I. of England repeatedly recognized the people in arms against him in this way. "I do not profess to be posted in history," replied Mr. Lincoln. "On all such matters I will turn you over to Seward. All I distinctly recollect about the case of Charles is that he lost his head."

But while Lincoln held firmly to what he regarded as the essentials to peace, he did not hesitate to give the commissioners some very good advice. "If I resided in Georgia, with my present sentiments," Mr. Stephens reports him as saying, "I'll tell you what I would do if I were in your place. I would go home and get the Governor of the State to call the legislature together, and get them to recall all the State troops from the war; elect senators and members to Congress, and ratify this constitutional amendment prospectively, so as to take effect—say in five years.

Such a ratification would be valid, in my opinion. I have looked into the subject, and think such a prospective ratification would be valid. Whatever may have been the views of your people before the war, they must be convinced now that slavery is doomed. It cannot last long in any event, and the best course, it seems to me, for your public men to pursue would be to adopt such a policy as will avoid, as far as possible, the evils of immediate emancipation. This would be my course, if I were in your place."

And so the Hampton Roads conference ended without other result than a renewed confirmation of what Lincoln had contended from the beginning of the agitation for peace measures—that the South would never grant until defeated what he claimed as vital to any negotiation—a recognition of the Union.

It was understood by the country that Mr. Lincoln's reelection meant not only a continuation of the war but the emancipation of the slaves by a constitutional amendment. The Emancipation Proclamation was never intended by the president for anything but a military measure. He had been careful to state this in delivering it and when called upon to retract it by a large body of the North because it turned the war into a contest to "free negroes," he had gone to great pains to explain his view. Thus in a letter written in August '63 to his political friends in Illinois, he said:

"You dislike the Emancipation Proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its commander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said—if so much—is that slaves are property. Is there—has there ever been—any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed

whenever taking it helps us, or hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it; and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female.

"But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid, it needs no retraction. If it is valid, it cannot be retracted any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue. There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation issued; the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming, unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before. I know, as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy and the use of the colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of these important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called Abolitionism, or with Republican party politics, but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit these opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections often urged that emancipation and arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith.

"You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively, to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the

Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes.

"I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers, leaves just as much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept."

Mr. Lincoln believed that as soon as the war was over, the proclamation would become void. Voters would have to decide then what slaves it freed—whether only those who had under it made an effort for their freedom and had come into the Union lines or all of those in the States and parts of States in rebellion at the time it was issued. Mr. Lincoln inclined to the former view. But even if the latter interpretation was decided on, there would still be many slaves in the country—the institution if weakened would still exist. It became plainer every day to him that some measure must be devised removing finally and forever the evil root from which the nation's long and sorrowful struggle had grown. Slavery must end with the war. The only complete and irrevocable method to attain this was a constitutional amendment abolishing it forever. In December, 1863, an amendment of this character had been proposed in the House and in the January after a similar one in the Senate. The latter passed, but the House failed to give the requisite two-thirds majority. Mr. Lincoln was convinced nevertheless that the people if asked directly to

vote on the subject would approve the amendment and before the meeting of the Republican Convention in June, '64, he sent for the chairman of the National Committee, Senator Morgan of New York. "I want you," he said, "to mention in your speech, when you call the convention to order as its keynote, and to put into the platform, as the keystone, the amendment of the Constitution abolishing and prohibiting slavery forever." It was done, the third article of the platform reading:

Resolved, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

When in December '64 Lincoln addressed Congress for the first time after his election he reminded them that the people in electing him had voted for an amendment prohibiting slavery:—

"Although the present is the same Congress" (which defeated the bill of Dec., '63) he said, "and nearly the same members, and without questioning the wisdom or patriotism of those who stood in opposition, I venture to recommend the reconstruction and passage of the measure at the present session. Of course the abstract question is not changed, but an intervening election shows, almost certainly, that the next Congress will pass the measure if this does not. Hence there is only a question of time as to

when the proposed amendment will go to the States for their action. And as it is to so go, at all events, may we not agree that the sooner the better? It is not claimed that the election has imposed a duty on members to change their views or their votes any further than as an additional element to be considered, their judgment may be affected by it. It is the voice of the people now for the first time heard upon the question. In a great national crisis like ours, unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable—almost indispensable. And yet no approach to such unanimity is attainable unless some deference shall be paid to the will of the majority, simply because it is the will of the majority. In this case the common end is the maintenance of the Union, and among the means to secure that end, such will, through the election, is almost clearly declared in favor of such constitutional amendment."

After the bill was introduced he followed its course with greatest care working adroitly and constantly in its interests. Its passage on January 31 was a genuine satisfaction to him. "This finishes the job," he said joyfully, and that night he said to a band of serenaders, that he thought the measure was a very fitting if not an indispensable adjunct to the winding up of the great difficulty. He wished the reunion of all the States perfected, and so effected as to remove all causes of disturbance in the future; and, to attain this end, it was necessary that the original disturbing cause should, if possible, be rooted out. He thought all would bear him witness that he had never shrunk from doing all that he could to eradicate slavery, by issuing an emancipation proclamation. But that proclamation falls short of what the amendment will be when fully consummated. A question might be raised whether the proclamation was legally valid. It might be urged, that it only aided those that came into our lines, and that it was inoperative as to those who did not give themselves up; or that it would have no effect upon the children of slaves born here

after; in fact, it would be urged that it did not meet the evil. But this amendment is a king's cure-all for all evils. It winds the whole thing up. He would repeat that it was the fitting if not the indispensable adjunct to the consummation of the great game we are playing. He could not but congratulate all present—himself, the country, and the whole world—upon this great moral victory.

The third matter which engrossed Lincoln after his election was reconstruction. From the very beginning of the war he had watched for opportunities, however small, to bring back into the Union disaffected districts and individuals. He was not particular about the way in which the wanderer returned. It was enough in Mr. Lincoln's opinion if he acknowledged the Union. Portions of Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana were put under military rule in the first six months of 1862 in order to encourage the Union sympathizers to keep up a semblance of republican government and whenever the President had a chance he encouraged the avowed Unionists in these States to get together so as to form a nucleus for action when the opportunity offered.

By the end of 1863 Mr. Lincoln believed that the time had come for him publicly to offer protection and pardon to those persons and districts which had been in rebellion, but which had had enough of the experience and were ready to come back. He believed from what he could learn that there was a considerable number of these. Accordingly in December in sending in his annual message to Congress he issued a "proclamation of amnesty and reconstruction." This proclamation offered pardon to all save the persons who had led the rebellion upon their taking an oath to support the Constitution and accept the emancipation proclamation. It also promised to protect any State government formed in accordance with a few simple and just regulations

which he set forth very clearly. A few weeks after the proclamation was issued. the President, anxious to know how it was working, sent General D. E. Sickles on an inspection tour.

"Please ascertain at each place," he wrote him, "what is being done, if anything, for reconstruction; how the amnesty proclamation works—if at all; what practical hitches, if any, there are about it; whether deserters come in from the enemy, what number has come in at each point since the amnesty, and whether the ratio of their arrival is any greater since than before the amnesty; what deserters report generally, and particularly whether, and to what extent, the amnesty is known within the rebel lines."

As the months went on Lincoln found that in spite of the fact that efforts at forming governments were making and that the pardon was being accepted by many persons there was strong and bitter opposition even in the Republican party to his plans of reconstruction. No little of this opposition was resentment that the President had worked out the plan alone and had announced it without consulting anybody. Congress said that he was usurping their rights. Many felt that the pardon Lincoln offered was too generous. Rebels should be punished, not pardoned, they argued. Many declared the States which had seceded could not be allowed to reorganize without congressional action. At the same time the President was constantly harassed by contests between the military and civil authorities in the States which were trying to organize. These contests seemed so unreasonable and so selfish to Mr. Lincoln that he wrote some very plain letters to the persons concerned.

"Few things since I have been here," he wrote General Hurlbut in November, "have impressed me more painfully that what for four or five months past has appeared a bitter

military opposition to the new State government of Louisiana. . . . A very fair proportion of the people of Louisiana have inaugurated a new State government, making an excellent new Constitution—better for the poor black man than we have in Illinois. This was done under military protection, directed by me, in the belief, still sincerely entertained, that with such a nucleus around which to build we could get the State into position again sooner than otherwise. In this belief a general promise of protection and support, applicable alike to Louisiana and other States, was given in the last annual message. During the formation of the new government and Constitution they were supported by nearly every loyal person, and opposed by every secessionist. And this support and this opposition, from the respective standpoints of the parties, was perfectly consistent and logical. Every Unionist ought to wish the new government to succeed; and every disunionist must desire it to fail. Its failure would gladden the heart of Slidell in Europe, and of every enemy of the old flag in the world. Every advocate of slavery naturally desires to see blasted and crushed the liberty promised the black man by the new Constitution. But why General Canby and General Hurlbut should join on the same side is to me incomprehensible. . . ."

After his re-election, in spite of all opposition, Lincoln steadily supported the new State governments. His practical common sense in dealing with a difficult problem never showed to better advantage than in the plan of reconstruction he had offered and was trying. It was not the only plan he kept repeating, but it was accomplishing something, was not this something better than nothing? If it proved bad he would change it for a better one, if a better was offered, but until it was shown that it was adverse to the interests of the people he was trying to bring back into the Union he should follow it. As for the abstract question over which a great part of the North was quarrelling, whether the seceded States were in the Union or out of it, he would not consider it. It was "bad as the basis of a controversy" he declared

and "good for nothing at all—a merely pernicious abstraction."

"We all agree," he continued, "that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States is to again get them into the proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these States have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it."

As the winter passed into the spring the President saw every day that the end was approaching and as he realized that at last the mighty problem over which he had agonized for so many months was unfolding, as he saw not only that the primary object for which he had been struggling—the Union—was to be attained but that even before this end was attained the evil which had caused all the trouble was to be eradicated, he experienced a lofty exaltation, a fresh realization that the will of God prevails in human affairs. From the time of his election he had been animated by a simple theory:—If we do right, God will be with us and if God is with us we cannot fail. He had struggled to see what was right and no man or men had been able to bring to bear pressure heavy enough to turn him from a step he had concluded was right. Yet as the days went on he saw his cause fail again and again. Many times it seemed on the verge of destruction. He pondered deeply over this seeming contradiction. Was he wrong in his own judgment of

what was right or could it be that God had some end in view different from either that of the North or South? Late in 1862, evidently to help clear up his mind, he wrote down on a slip of paper a statement of the puzzling problem. His secretaries later found it and published it in their history.

"The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be, wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party; and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, are of the best adaptation to effect his purpose. I am almost ready to say that this is probably true; that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet. By his mere great power on the minds of the now contestants, he could have either saved or destroyed the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And, having begun, he could give the final victory to either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds."

As time went on and his conviction that his cause was right grew stronger, in spite of the reverses he suffered, he began to feel that God's purpose was to wipe out slavery and that the war was a divine retribution on North as well as South for the toleration of slavery. In a letter written in April, 1864, he expressed this view:

". . . At the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man, devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God."

By the spring of 1865 this explanation of the continuation of the war fully possessed him and in his inaugural he laid it

before the people in a few solemn, beautiful sentences—a prophet's cry to a nation bidding them to complete the task the Lord God Almighty had set before them, and to expiate in humility their sins.

". . . The Almighty has his own purposes," he said. "'Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

It was in this lofty spirit that Abraham Lincoln entered on his second term. Every act of the few days of that term which he served was in full harmony with the words of his inaugural. Although the criticism on him for pardoning prisoners of war was at that time very bitter, even General Grant protesting against his broad exercise of the pardoning power, he could be persuaded easily to set free

any man or men for whom any honest official would vouch. Honorable John B. Henderson, then in the United States Senate from Missouri, relates for this work his experience in securing pardons from Lincoln in the spring of 1865.

"From 1862 to 1865," says Mr. Henderson, "the conditions were such in Missouri, that every man was obliged to espouse actively either the Union or the Confederate cause. No man really was safe out of one army or another. Property was insecure, and if a person attempted to remain neutral he was suspected by both Confederates and Federals, and was liable to be arrested by either side, and his property destroyed. During the progress of the war a large number of Missourians had been arrested by the Federals and were confined in the military prisons, many of them at St. Louis where the McDowell Medical College had been taken and used for the purpose, and some at Alton, Illinois, about twenty-five miles above St. Louis on the river. The friends and relations of many of these military prisoners appealed to me to secure their release, or to save them from whatever sentence had been pronounced. These sentences, of course, varied. In flagrant cases where they were convicted of acting as spies, or of prosecuting guerilla warfare, the death sentence was sometimes ordered but not often inflicted. Others were condemned to prison for life or during the war. Few of the death sentences were ever inflicted. There was a tacit understanding among the military authorities that while a show of severity be kept up it was only under extreme circumstances that a prisoner should be executed. Towards the close of the winter of 1864-65, I found that I had a large number of these applications for clemency and pardon on hand.

"Congress adjourned on March 4, 1865, and Mr. Lincoln on that day was inaugurated for a second term. An extra session of the Senate only was called immediately to act on presidential nominations, but it continued in session until about the 18th of March. I was anxious to clear up as many as possible of these imprisonment cases before leaving for home. I accordingly had my clerk classify them, according

to the evidence in each case, giving the name of the prisoner, the character of his offense, together with a statement of the proofs or evidence against him. I caused them to be divided into three classes. Into the first class I put those of whose innocence I had but little doubt; into the second class those whose innocence was more doubtful, but whom I believed it would be safe and proper, under the circumstances, to release; the third class consisted of those who ought still to be retained in confinement. As I had very little time before leaving for the West, I took the first and second classes to the President and asked their pardon and release.

"Mr. Lincoln looked over the list and then said: 'Do you mean to tell me, Henderson, that you wish me to let loose all these people at once?'

"'Yes,' I said, 'I believe it can be easily done.'

"'But,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'I have no time to examine the evidence. I am constantly reproached for my too abundant charity, and what would be said if I should turn loose so many sinners at once. And again what would be the influence in Missouri?'

"'I believe, Mr. President,' I said, 'that the influence would be most beneficial. The war is nearly over. The day for generosity and kindness has come.'

"'Do you really think so?' said the President.

"'Yes, the rebellion is broken; the rebels will soon be returning to their homes if permitted to do so. What I especially wish is to prevent in my State a prolonged guerilla warfare. The rebels are already conquered in war. Let us try charity and kindness rather than repression and severity. The policy of mercy will prove to be a wise reconstruction measure.'

"'I hope you are right,' said the President; 'but I have no time to examine this evidence. If I sign this list as a whole, will you be responsible for the future good behavior of the men?'

"'Yes,' I said.

"'Then I will take the risk and sign it," said the President. And after inserting, in his own hand-writing, the word 'pardoned' after the name of each person who had

been convicted of offenses by military commission, he signed the general order of release, and returned the paper to me.

"'Thank you, Mr. President; but that is not all; I have another list here.'

"'I hope you are not going to make me let loose another lot?'

"'Yes. I am not quite so sure of the merits of this list, but I believe the men are not dangerous, and it will be good policy to let them go. I think it safer and better to err on the side of mercy.'

"'Yes,' said Mr. Lincoln; 'but you know I am charged with making too many mistakes on the side of mercy.'

"'Mr. President, my argument for this is the same as in the other case. The war is substantially over. The guilt of these men is at least doubtful And mercy is and must be after all the policy of peace.'

"'I guess you are right,' said Mr. Lincoln.

"'Yes,' I said, 'I am sure I am, and I think that you ought to sign it.'

"'Well, I'll be durned if I don't,' said the President, and he signed his name after inserting the word 'pardoned' over the name of those laboring under conviction.

"This was the only time that I ever heard Mr. Lincoln use a word which approached profanity.

"'Now, Henderson,' he said, as he handed the list back to me, 'remember you are responsible to me for these men. If they do not behave, I shall have to put you in prison for their sins.'"

A few days after this interview with Mr. Henderson the President decided to take a holiday—the first he had taken since he entered the White House in 1861. Boarding a river steamer with a few friends he went to City Point on the James River, where General Grant had his headquarters. Here he could not possibly be reached by the office-seekers incident to a new term and here, too, he would be near the operations which he felt would soon end the war.

Grant's headquarters at this time were in a group of cot-

tages on a high bluff at the juncture of the Appomattox and James Rivers. It was a point which commanded a view of a wide and active scene, including many places made historic by the operations of the four years just past. To the north were the flats of Bermuda Hundred, with the conspicuous look-out tower, with tents and barracks and wharves; beyond the wooded slopes of Malvern Hill. Looking eastward across the great bay which the confluence of the two rivers makes here, could be seen Harrison's Landing. On every side wharves ran out from the shore. Here night and day steamers, transports, gun boats were coming and going, unloading men and supplies, carrying away wounded and prisoners. The President's little steamer anchored at the foot of the bluff and here he lived for some ten days. It had been intended that on the day of his arrival at City Point, March 25, the President should review a portion of the troops on the Petersburg line, but that morning the final struggle between besieged and besiegers was begun by the unexpected attack of the Confederates on Fort Stedman. A terrific battle followed and the review was deferred. Comparative quiet followed this attack for some five days and in this interim Lincoln visited the lines behind Petersburg with Grant several times to review the troops and watch the operations, and he spent considerable time sailing up and down the river with Admiral Porter on his flag-ship.

Two days after the President reached City Point Sherman, whose army had since the fall of Atlanta, marched to the sea and as far northward as Goldsboro, North Carolina, and was now expecting soon to meet the Confederate army under Johnston, came to City Point to confer with Grant and Lincoln. Both generals agreed that their work was nearly over, but each thought he must fight another great battle. The President urged them to avoid this if possible. "No more blood-shed," was his repeated counsel.

Grant's last conference began on March 27. Lincoln at City Point sat all day in the telegraph office at headquarters as at crucial moments he did in Washington, receiving reports from Grant and sending them on to Stanton. It was he who first informed the War Department of Sheridan's success at Five Forks on April 1. It was he who on the morning of April 2 wired the Secretary of War that at last Petersburg was evacuated and Richmond said to be. A few hours later he went at Grant's request to Petersburg for a last interview with the general before he followed his army which was now moving after the retreating Confederate army. The city had suffered severely from the long siege, many of its houses being destroyed and all being more or less riddled by shot and shell. Even today a visitor to Petersburg is shown house after house where great cannon balls are embedded in the walls. As Lincoln rode through the streets, busy as he was with the stupendous event he had so long desired, he noticed the destruction with a sorry shake of the head. The talk with Grant was held on the porch of a comfortable house still standing, and then the two parted, Grant to go to Appomattox, Lincoln to City Point.

The news of the abandonment of Richmond on April 2 had by this time reached City Point. Lincoln's first exclamation on receiving the news was "I want to see Richmond." A party was at once arranged and on the morning of April 3 he started up the river. The trip must have been full of exciting interest to the President, leading as it did by a series of places which had been made forever famous by the struggles of war which he knew now to be over—Malvern Hill, Deep Bottom, Dutch Gap, Varina. It was full of real danger too, for there was no way of knowing positively that the stream was free from torpedoes or the banks entirely cleared of the enemy. The entrance into

Richmond was even more dangerous. Here was the President of the United States with four companions and a guard of only ten marines, entering on foot a city which for four years he had been doing his utmost to capture by force. That city was in a condition of the wildest confusion. The army and government had abandoned it. Fire had destroyed a large part of it and was still raging. The Federals who had entered the day before had not as yet established any effective patrol. A hostile people filled the streets and hung from the windows. And yet through this chaos of misery, disorganization, and defeat Abraham Lincoln walked in safety. More, as it was noised abroad that he had come his passage became a triumph. The negroes full of superstitious veneration for the name of Lincoln flocked about him weeping. "Bres de Lord," cried one, "dere is de great Messiah," and throwing himself on his knees he kissed the President's feet. It was only after a long struggle that the guard was able to conduct Mr. Lincoln from this tumultuous rejoicing crowd and bring him safe to the house of Jefferson Davis—now the headquarters of the federal troops.

The President remained two days in Richmond carefully going over the situation and discussing the best means of restoring Union authority and of dealing with the individuals who had been in insurrection. The President was emphatic in his opinion. The terms must be liberal. "Get them to plowing once," he said in Admiral Porter's presence, "and gathering in their own little crops, eating popcorn at their own firesides, and you can't get them to shoulder a musket again for half a century." Being cheered at City Point the day after he left Richmond by a crowd of Confederate prisoners, he said again to Admiral Porter: "They will never shoulder a musket again in anger, and if Grant is wise he will leave them their guns to shoot crows

with and their horses to plow with; it would do no harm." As to the people of Richmond his one counsel to the military governor was to "let them down easy." Nor would he while there listen to a word of harshness in the treatment of even the leaders of the rebellion. One day when visiting Libby Prison, a member of the party remarked to him that Jefferson Davis ought to be hung, "Judge not that ye be not judged," Charles Sumner heard him quote. No bitterness was in his soul, only a great thankfulness that the end seemed so near and a firm determination to regulate with mercy all questions of reconstruction.

Returning to City Point Mr. Lincoln learned that Mr. Seward had been thrown from a carriage and injured and he resolved to go at once to Washington. He had only just reached there when he received word that on April 9 General Lee had surrendered his army to General Grant at Appomattox. This could mean but one thing, the war was over. No force was now left to the enemy which must not surrender on hearing that the principal Confederate force had laid down its arms. Immediately the President and his associates began the glad task of shutting down the vast war machinery in operation—the first act being to issue an order suspending the draft.

CHAPTER XXX

THE END OF THE WAR

"THE war is over." Throughout the breadth of the North this was the jubilant cry with which people greeted one another on the morning of April 14, 1865. For ten days reports of victories had been coming to them; Petersburg evacuated, Richmond fallen, Jefferson Davis and his cabinet fled, Lee surrendered, Mobile captured. Nothing of the Confederacy, in short, remained but Johnston's army, and it was generally believed that its surrender to Sherman was but a matter of hours. How completely the conflict was at an end, however, the people of the North had not realized until they read in their newspapers, on that Good Friday morning the order of the Secretary of War suspending the draft, stopping the purchase of military supplies, and removing military restrictions from trade. The war was over indeed,

Such a day of rejoicing as followed the world has rarely seen. At Fort Sumter scores of well-known citizens of the North, among them Henry Ward Beecher, William Lloyd Garrison, General Robert Anderson, and Theodore Tilton, raised over the black and shattered pile the flag which four years ago Charleston, now lying desolate and wasted, had dragged down.

Cities and towns, hamlets and country road-sides blossomed with flags and bunting. Stock exchanges met to pass resolutions. Bells rang. Every man who could make a speech was on his feet. It was a Millennium Day, restoring broken homes, quieting aching hearts, easing distracted minds. Even those who mourned—and who could count the number whom that dreadful four years had stripped of those

they held dearest?—even those who mourned exulted. Their dead had saved a nation, freed a people. And so a subtle joy, mingled triumph, resignation, and hope, swept over the North. It was with all men as James Russell Lowell wrote to his friend Norton that it was with him: "The news, my dear Charles is from Heaven. I felt a strange and tender exaltation. I wanted to laugh and I wanted to cry, and ended by holding my peace and feeling devoutly thankful."

One man before all others in the nation felt and showed his gladness that day—the President, Abraham Lincoln. For weeks now as he had seen the end approaching, little by little he had been thankfully laying aside the ways of war and returning to those of peace. His soul, tuned by nature to gentleness and good-will, had been for four years forced to lead in a pitiless war. Now his duties were to "bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan;" to devise plans by which the members of the restored Union could live together in harmony, to plan for the future of the four million human beings to whom he had given freedom. All those who were with him in this period remarked the change in his feelings and his ways. He seemed to be aroused to a new sense of the beauty of peace and rest, to love to linger in quiet spots, and to read over and over with infinite satisfaction lines of poetry which expressed repose. The perfect tranquillity in death seemed especially to appeal to him. Mrs. Lincoln once related to her friend, Isaac Arnold, that, while at City Point, in April, she was driving one day with her husband along the banks of the James, when they passed a country grave-yard. "It was a retired place, shaded by trees, and early spring flowers were opening on nearly every grave. It was so quiet and attractive that they stopped the carriage and walked through it. Mr. Lincoln seemed thoughtful and impressed. He said: 'Mary, you

are younger than I. You will survive me. When I am gone, lay my remains in some quiet place like this.' "

A few days after this, as he was sailing down the James bound for Washington, Charles Sumner, who was in the party, was much impressed by the tone and manner in which Mr. Lincoln read aloud two or three times a passage from Macbeth:

> " Duncan is in his grave;
> After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well;
> Treason has done his worst: nor steel, nor poison,
> Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing,
> Can touch him further!"

There was a marked change in his appearance. All through 1863 and 1864 his thin face had day by day grown more haggard, its lines had deepened, its pallor had become a more ghastly gray. His eye, always sad when he was in thought, had a look of unutterable grief. Through all these months Lincoln was, in fact, consumed by sorrow. " I think I shall never be glad again," he said once to a friend. But as one by one the weights lifted, a change came over him; his form straightened, his face cleared, the lines became less accentuated. " His whole appearance, poise, and bearing had marvellously changed," says the Hon. James Harlan. " He was in fact, transfigured. That indescribable sadness which had previously seemed to be an adamantine element of his very being, had been suddenly changed for an equally indescribable expression of serene joy, as if conscious that the great purpose of his life had been achieved."

Never since he had become convinced that the end of the war was near had Mr. Lincoln seemed to his friends more glad, more serene, than on the 14th of April. The morning was soft and sunny in Washington, and as the spring was early in 1865, the Judas-trees and the dogwood were blossoming on the hillsides, the willows were green along the Potomac, and in the parks and gardens the lilacs bloomed—

a day of promise and joy to which the whole town responded. Indeed, ever since the news of the fall of Richmond reached Washington the town had been indulging in an almost unbroken celebration, each new victory arousing a fresh outburst and rekindling enthusiasm. On the night of the 13th, there had been a splendid illumination, and on the 14th, the rejoicing went on. The suspension of the draft and the presence of Grant in town—come this time not to plan new campaigns, but to talk of peace and reconstruction—seemed to furnish special reason for celebrating.

At the White House the family party which met at breakfast was unusually happy. Captain Robert Lincoln, the President's oldest son, then an aide-de-camp on Grant's staff, had arrived that morning, and the closing scenes of Grant's campaign were discussed with the deepest interest by father and son. Soon after breakfast the President received Schuyler Colfax, who was about to leave for the West, and later in the morning the cabinet met, Friday being its regular day. General Grant was invited to remain to its session. There was the greatest interest at the moment in General Sherman's movements, and Grant was plied with questions by the cabinet. The President was least anxious of all. The news would soon come, he said, and it would be favorable. He had no doubt of this, for the night before he had had a dream which had preceded nearly every important event of the war.

"He said it was in my department, it related to the water," Secretary Welles afterward wrote; "that he seemed to be in a singular and indescribable vessel, but always the same, and that he was moving with great rapidity toward a dark and indefinite shore; that he had had this singular dream preceding the firing on Sumter, the battles of Bull Run, Antietam, Gettysburg, Stone River, Vicksburg, Wilmington, etc. . . . Victory did not always follow his dream,

but the event and results were important. He had no doubt that a battle had taken place, or was about being fought, ' and Johnston will be beaten, for I had this strange dream again last night. It must relate to Sherman; my thoughts are in that direction, and *I know of no other very important event which is likely just now to occur.*' "

The greater part of the meeting was taken up with a discussion of the policy of reconstruction. How were they to treat the States and the men who had tried to leave the Union, but who now were forced back into their old relations? How could practical civil government be reëstablished; how could trade be restored between North and South; what should be done with those who had led the States to revolt? The President urged his cabinet to consider carefully all these questions, and he warned them emphatically, Mr. Welles says, that he did not sympathize with and would not participate in any feelings of hate and vindictiveness. " He hoped there would be no persecution, no bloody work, after the war was over. None need expect he would take any part in hanging or killing these men, even the worst of them. Frighten them out of the country, let down the bars, scare them off, said he, throwing up his hands as if scaring sheep. Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and union. There was too much desire on the part of our very good friends to be masters, to interfere with and dictate to those States, to treat the people not as fellow-citizens; there was too little respect for their rights. He didn't sympathize in these feelings."

The impression he made on all the cabinet that day was expressed twenty-four hours later by Secretary Stanton: " He was more cheerful and happy than I had ever seen him, rejoiced at the near prospect of firm and durable peace at home and abroad, manifested in marked degree the kindness and

humanity of his disposition, and the tender and forgiving spirit that so eminently distinguished him."

In the afternoon the President went for his usual drive. Only Mrs. Lincoln was with him. Years afterward Mrs. Lincoln related to Isaac Arnold what she remembered of Mr. Lincoln's words that day: "Mary," he said, "we have had a hard time of it since we came to Washington; but the war is over, and with God's blessing we may hope for four years of peace and happiness, and then we will go back to Illinois, and pass the rest of our lives in quiet. We have laid by some money, and during this term we will try and save up more, but shall not have enough to support us. We will go back to Illinois, and I will open a law office at Springfield or Chicago, and practice law, and at least do enough to help give us a livelihood."

It was late in the afternoon when he returned from his drive, and as he left his carriage he saw going across the lawn toward the Treasury a group of friends, among them Richard Oglesby, then Governor of Illinois. "Come back, boys, come back," he shouted. The party turned, joined the President on the portico, and went up to his office with him.

"How long we remained there I do not remember," says Governor Oglesby. "Lincoln got to reading some humorous book; I think it was by 'John Phœnix.' They kept sending for him to come to dinner. He promised each time to go, but would continue reading the book. Finally he got a sort of peremptory order that he must come to dinner at once. It was explained to me by the old man at the door that they were going to have dinner and then go to the theater."

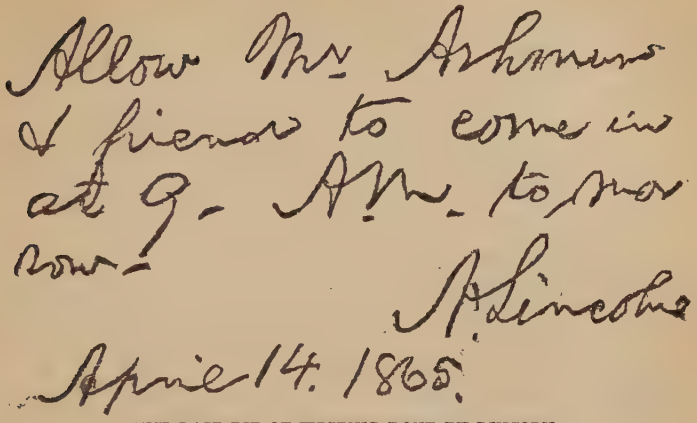
A theater party had been made up by Mrs. Lincoln for that evening—General and Mrs. Grant being her guests—to see Laura Keene, at Ford's theater, in "Our American Cousin." Miss Keene was ending her season in Washington that night with a benefit. The box had been ordered in the morning,

and unusual preparations had been made to receive the presidential party. The partition between the two upper proscenium boxes at the left of the stage had been removed, comfortable upholstered chairs had been put in, and the front of the box had been draped with flags. The manager, of course, took care to announce in the afternoon papers that the "President and his lady" and the "Hero of Appomattox" would attend Miss Keene's benefit that evening.

By eight o'clock the house was filled with the half-idle, half-curious crowd of a holiday night. Many had come simply to see General Grant, whose face was then unfamiliar in Washington. Others, strolling down the street, had dropped in because they had nothing better to do. The play began promptly, the house following its nonsensical fun with friendly eyes and generous applause, one eye on the President's box.

The presidential party was late. Indeed it had not left the White House until after eight o'clock, and then it was made up differently from what Mrs. Lincoln had expected, for in the afternoon she had received word that General and Mrs. Grant had decided to go North that night. It was suggested then that the party be given up, but the fear that the public would be disappointed decided the President to keep the engagement. Two young friends, the daughter of Senator Ira Harris and his stepson, Major H. R. Rathbone, had been invited to take the place of General and Mrs. Grant.

Schuyler Colfax and Mr. Ashmun, of Massachusetts, had called early in the evening, and the President had talked with them a little while. He rose finally with evident regret to go to his carriage. The two gentlemen accompanied him to the door, and he paused there long enough to write on a card, "Allow Mr. Ashmun and friends to come in at nine A. M. tomorrow." As he shook hands with them he said to Mr. Colfax: "Colfax, don't forget to tell those people in the mining



THE LAST BIT OF WRITING DONE BY LINCOLN.
Loaned by G. A. Morton, New Haven, Conn.

regions what I told you this morning." Then, entering the carriage, he was driven to the theater on Tenth street, between E and F.

When the presidential party finally entered the theater, making its way along the gallery behind the seats of the dress circle, the orchestra broke into "Hail to the Chief," and the people, rising in their seats and waving hats and handkerchiefs, cheered and cheered, the actors on the stage standing silent in the meantime. The party passed through the narrow entrance into the box, and the several members laid aside their wraps, and bowing and smiling to the enthusiastic crowd below, seated themselves, Mr. Lincoln in a large armchair at the left, Mrs. Lincoln next to him, Miss Harris next, and to the extreme right, a little behind Miss Harris, Major Rathbone; and then the play went on.

The party in the box was well entertained, it seemed, especially the President, who laughed good-humoredly at the jokes and chatted cheerfully between the acts. He moved from his seat but once, rising then to put on his overcoat, for the house was chilly. The audience was well entertained,

too, though not a few kept an eye on the box entrance, still expecting General Grant. The few whose eyes sought the box now and then noticed, in the second scene of the third act, that a man was passing behind the seats of the dress circle and approaching the entrance to the box. Those who did not know him noticed that he was strikingly handsome, though very pale; that was all. They did not look again. It was not General Grant.

One man did watch him. He knew him, and wanted to see who in the presidential box it could be that he knew well enough to call on in the middle of an act. If any attendant saw him, there was no question of his movements. He was a privileged person in the theater, having free entrance to every corner. He had been there in the course of the day; he had passed out and in once or twice during the evening.

Crowding behind some loose chairs in the aisle, the man passed out of sight through the door leading into the passage behind the President's box. He closed the door behind him, paused for a moment, then did a curious thing for a visitor to a theater party. He picked up a piece of stout plank which he seemed to know just where to find, and slipped one end into a hole gouged into the wall close to the door-casing. The plank extended across the door, making a rough but effective bolt. Turning to the door which led from the passage to the boxes, he may have peered through a tiny hole which had been drilled through the panel. If he did, he saw a quiet party intent on the play, the President just then smiling over a bit of homely wit.

Opening the door so quietly that no one heard him, the man entered the box. Then if any eye in the house could but have looked, if one head in the box had been turned, it would have been seen that the man held in his right hand a Derringer pistol, and that he raised the weapon and aimed it steadily at the head of the smiling President.

No eye saw him, but a second later and every ear heard a pistol shot. Those in the house unfamiliar with the play thought it a part of the performance, and waited expectant. Those familiar with "Our American Cousin," the orchestra, attendants, actors, searched in amazement to see from where the sound came. Only three persons in all the house knew just where it was—three of the four in the box knew it was there by their side—a tragedy. The fourth saw nothing, heard nothing, thought nothing. His head had fallen quietly on his breast, his arms had relaxed a little, the smile was still on his lips.

Then from the box, now filled with white smoke, came a woman's sharp cry, and there was a sound of a struggle. Major Rathbone, at the sound of the shot, had sprung to his feet and grappled with the stranger, who now had a dagger in his hand, and who struck viciously with it at the Major's heart. He, warding the blow from his breast, received it in his upper arm, and his hold relaxed. The stranger sprang to the balustrade of the box as if about to leap, but Major Rathbone caught at his garments. They were torn from his grasp, and the man vaulted toward the stage, a light, agile leap, which turned to a plunge as the silken flag in front caught at a spur on his boot. As the man struck the floor his left leg bent and a bone snapped, but instantly he was up; and limping to the middle of the stage, a long strip of the silken banner trailing from his spur, he turned full on the house, which still stared straight ahead, searching for the meaning of the muffled pistol shot. Brandishing his dagger and shouting—so many thought, though there were others whose ears were so frozen with amazement that they heard nothing—"*Sic semper tyrannis!*" he turned to fly. Not, however, before more than one person in the house had said to himself, "Why, it is John Wilkes Booth!" Not before others had realized that the shot was that of a murderer, that

the woman's cry in the box came from Mrs. Lincoln, that the President in all the turmoil alone sat calm, his head unmoved on his breast. As these few grasped the awful meaning of the confused scene, it seemed to them that they could not rise nor cry out. They stretched out inarticulate arms, struggling to tear themselves from the nightmare which held them. When strength and voice did return, they plunged over the seats, forgetting their companions, bruising themselves, and clambered to the stage, crying aloud in rage and despair, "Hang him, hang him!" But Booth, though his leg was broken, was too quick. He struck with his dagger at one who caught him, plunged through a familiar back exit, and, leaping upon a horse standing ready for him, fled. When those who pursued reached the street, they heard only the rapidly receding clatter of a horse's hoofs.

But while a few in the house pursued Booth, others had thought only of reaching the box. The stage was now full of actors in their paint and furbelows, musicians with their instruments, men in evening dress, officers in uniform—a motley, wild-eyed crowd which, as Miss Harris appeared at the edge of the box crying out, "Bring water. Has any one stimulants?" demanded, "What is it? What is the matter?"

"The President is shot," was her reply.

A surgeon was helped over the balustrade into the box. The star of the evening, whose triumph this was to have been, strove to calm the distracted throng; then she, too, sought the box. Major Rathbone, who first of all in the house had realized that a foul crime had been attempted, had turned from his unsuccessful attempt to stop the murderer to see that it was the President who had been shot. He had rushed to the door of the passage, where men were already beating in a furious effort to gain admission, and had found it barred. It was an instant before he could pull away the

plank, explain the tragedy, demand surgeons, and press back the crowd.

The physicians admitted lifted the silent figure, still sitting calmly in the chair, stretched it on the floor, and began to tear away the clothing to find the wound, which they supposed was in the breast. It was a moment before it was discovered that the ball had entered the head back of the left ear and was imbedded in the brain.

There seemed to be but one desire then: that was to get the wounded man from the scene of the murder. Two persons lifted him, and the stricken party passed from the box, through the dress circle, down the stairs into the street, the blood dripping from the wound faster and faster as they went. No one seemed to know where they were going, for as they reached the street there was a helpless pause and an appeal from the bearers, "Where shall we take him?" Across the street, on the high front steps of a plain, three-storied brick house, stood a man, who but a moment before had left the theater, rather bored by the play. He had seen, as he stood there idly wondering if he should go in to bed or not, a violent commotion in the vestibule of the theater; had seen people rushing out, the street filling up, policemen and soldiers appearing. He did not know what it all meant. Then two men bearing a body came from the theater, behind them a woman in evening gown, flowers in her hair, jewels on her neck. She was wringing her hands and moaning. The man on the steps heard some one say, "The President is shot;" heard the bearers of the body asking, "Where shall we take him?" and quickly coming forward, he said, "Bring him here into my room."

And so the President was carried up the high steps, through a narrow hall, and laid, still unconscious, still motionless, on the bed of a poor, little, commonplace room of a commonplace lodging-house, where surgeons and physicians

gathered about in a desperate attempt to rescue him from death.

While the surgeons worked the news was spreading to the town. Every man and woman in the theater rushed forth to tell it. Some ran wildly down the streets, exclaiming to those they met, "The President is killed! The President is killed!" One rushed into a ball-room, and told it to the dancers; another bursting into a room where a party of eminent public men were playing cards, cried, "Lincoln is shot!" Another, running into the auditorium of Grover's Theater, cried, "President Lincoln has been shot in his private box at Ford's Theater." Those who heard the cry thought the man insane or drunk, but a moment later they saw the actors in a combat called from the stage, the manager coming forward. His face was pale, his voice agonized, as he said, "Ladies and gentlemen, I feel it my duty to say to you that the announcement made from the front of the theater just now is true, President Lincoln has been shot." One ran to summon Secretary Stanton. A boy picked up at the door of the house where the President lay was sent to the White House for Robert Lincoln. The news spread by the very force of its own horror, and as it spread it met other news no less terrible. At the same hour that Booth had sent the ball into the President's brain, a man had forced his way into the house of Secretary Seward, then lying in bed with a broken arm, and had stabbed both the Secretary and his son Frederick so seriously that it was feared they would die. In his entrance and exit he had wounded three other members of the household. Like Booth, he had escaped. Horror bred rumor, and Secretary Stanton, too, was reported wounded, while later it was said that Grant had been killed on his way North. Dread seized the town. "Rumors are so thick," wrote the editor of the "National Intelligencer" at two o'clock in the morning, "the excitement of this hour is so intense, that we rely entirely upon our reporters to advise the

public of the details and result of this night of horrors. Evidently conspirators are among us. To what extent does the conspiracy exist? This is a terrible question. When a spirit so horrible as this is abroad, what man is safe? We can only advise the utmost vigilance and the most prompt measures by the authorities. We can only pray God to shield us, His unworthy people, from further calamities like these."

The civil and military authorities prepared for attack from within and without. Martial law was at once established. The long roll was beaten; every exit from the city was guarded; out-going trains were stopped; mounted police and cavalry clattered up and down the street; the forts were ordered on the alert; guns were manned.

In the meantime there had gathered in the house on Tenth Street, where the President lay, his family physician and intimate friends, as well as many prominent officials. Before they reached him it was known there was no hope, that the wound was fatal. They grouped themselves about the bedside or in the adjoining rooms, trying to comfort the weeping wife, or listening awe-struck to the steady moaning and labored breathing of the unconscious man, which at times could be heard all over the house. Stanton alone seemed able to act methodically. No man felt the tragedy more than the great War Secretary, for no one in the cabinet was by greatness of heart and intellect so well able to comprehend the worth of the dying President; but no man in that distracted night acted with greater energy or calm. Summoning the Assistant Secretary, C. A. Dana, and a stenographer, he began dictating orders to the authorities on all sides, notifying them of the tragedy, directing them what precautions to take, what persons to arrest. Grant, now returning to Washington, he directed should be warned to keep close watch on all persons who came close to him in the cars and to see that an engine be sent in front of his train. He sent out, too, an official account of the assassination. To-day

the best brief account of the night's awful work remains the one which Secretary Stanton dictated within sound of the moaning of the dying President.

And so the hours passed without perceptible change in the President's condition, and with only slight shifting of the scene around him. The testimony of those who had witnessed the murder began to be taken in an adjoining room. Occasionally the figures at the bedside changed. Mrs. Lincoln came in at intervals, sobbing out her grief, and then was led away. This man went, another took his place. It was not until daylight that there came a perceptible change. Then the breathing grew quieter, the face became more calm. The doctors at Lincoln's side knew that dissolution was near. Their bulletin of six o'clock read, " Pulse failing;" that of half-past six, " Still failing;" that of seven, " Symptoms of immediate dissolution," and then at twenty-two minutes past seven, in the presence of his son Robert, Secretaries Stanton, Welles and Usher, Attorney-General Speed, Senator Sumner, Private Secretary Hay, Dr. Gurley, his pastor, and several physicians and friends, Abraham Lincoln died. There was a prayer, and then the solemn voice of Stanton broke the stillness, " Now he belongs to the ages."

Two hours later the body of the President, wrapped in an American flag, was borne from the house in Tenth Street, and carried through the hushed streets, where already thousands of flags were at half-mast and the gay buntings and garlands had been replaced by black draperies, and where the men who for days had been cheering in excess of joy and relief now stood with uncovered heads and wet eyes. They carried him to an upper room in the private apartments of the White House, and there he lay until three days later a heart-broken people claimed their right to look for a last time on his face.

CHAPTER XXXI

LINCOLN'S FUNERAL

THE first edition of the morning papers in all the cities and towns of the North told their readers on Saturday, April 15, 1865, that Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, lay mortally wounded in Washington. The extras within the next two hours told them he was dead. The first impulse of men everywhere seems to have been to doubt. It could not be. They realized only too quickly that it was true! There was no discrediting the circumstantial accounts of the later telegrams. There was no escape from the horror and uncertainty which filled the air, driving out the joy and exultation which for days had inundated the country.

In the great cities like New York a death-like silence followed the spreading of the news—a silence made the more terrible by the presence of hundreds of men and women walking in the streets with bent heads, white faces, and knit brows. Automatically, without thought of what their neighbors were doing, these men went to their shops only to send away their clerks and close their doors for the day. Stock exchanges met only to adjourn. By ten o'clock business had ceased. It was not only in the cities, where the tension of feeling is always greatest, that this was true. It was the same in the small towns.

"I was a compositor then, working in a printing office at Danville, Illinois," says Prof. A. G. Draper, of Washington, D. C. "The editor came into the room early in the forenoon with a telegram in his hand; he was regarding it

intently, with a pale face. Without saying a word he passed it to one and another of the compositors. I noticed that as the men read it they laid down their sticks, and without a word went, one after another, took their coats and hats off the nails where they were hanging, put them on, and went into the street. Finally the telegram was passed to me. It was the announcement that Lincoln had been shot the night before and had died that morning. Automatically I laid down my stick, took my hat and coat, and went into the street. It seemed to me as if every man in town had dropped his business just where it was and come out. There was no sound; but the people, with pale faces and tense looks, regarded one another as if questioning what would happen next."

Just as the first universal impulse seems to have been to cease all business, so the next was to drag down the banners of victory which hung everywhere and replace them by crape. New York City before noon of Saturday was hung in black from the Battery to Harlem. It was not only Broadway and Washington Square and Fifth Avenue which mourned. The soiled windows of Five Points tenements and saloons were draped, and from the doors of the poor hovels of upper Manhattan west of Central Park bits of black weed were strung. And so it was in all the cities and towns of the North. "About nine o'clock on Saturday the intelligence reached us of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and the attempt upon Mr. Seward's life," wrote Senator Grimes from Burlington, Iowa. "Immediately the people began to assemble about the 'Hawkeye' office, and soon Third Street became packed with people. And such expressions of horror, indignation, sorrow, and wonder were never heard before. Shortly, some one began to decorate his house with the habiliments of mourning; and soon all the business part of the town, even the vilest liquor dens, was shrouded with the outward signs

of sorrow. All business was at once suspended, and not resumed during the day; but every one waited for further intelligence from Washington."

And this was true not only of the towns, it was true of the distant farms. There the news was slower in coming. A traveller journeying from the town stopped to tell it at a farm-house. The farmer, leaving his plow, walked or rode across lots to repeat it to a neighbor. Everywhere they dropped their work, and everywhere they brought out a strip of black and tied it to the door-knob.

The awful quiet of the North through the first few hours after the tragedy covered not grief alone; below it was a righteous anger, which, as the hours passed, began to break out. It showed itself first against those of Southern sympathy who were bold enough to say they were "glad of it." In New York a man was heard to remark that "it served old Abe right." Cries of "Lynch him, lynch him!" were raised. He was set upon by the crowd, and escaped narrowly. All day the police were busy hustling suspected Copperheads away from the mobs which seemed to rise from the ground at the first word of treason.

"I was kept busy last night," further wrote Senator Grimes from Burlington, "trying to prevent the destruction of the store of a foolish woman who, it was said, expressed her joy at Mr. Lincoln's murder. Had she been a man, so much was the old Adam aroused in me, I would not have uttered a word to save her."

In Cincinnati, which had spent the day and night before in the most elaborate jubilation, the rage against treason broke out at the least provocation. "Some individuals of the 'butternut' inclination," says a former citizen, in recalling these days, "were knocked into the gutters and kicked, because they would make no expression of sorrow, or because of their well-known past sympathy with the rebellion. Others as

loyal as any suffered also, through mistaken ideas of meanness on the part of personal enemies. Junius Brutus Booth, a brother of the assassin, was closing a two-weeks' engagement at Pike Opera House. He was stopping at the Burnet House. While there was no violent public demonstration against him, it was well known that his life would not be worth a farthing should he be seen on the streets or in public. Of course the bills were taken down, and there was no performance that night. Mr. Booth was well pleased quietly to escape from the Burnet and disappear."

In one New Hampshire town, where a company of volunteers from the country had gathered to drill, only to be met by the news, it was rumored that a man in a factory near by had been heard to say, "The old abolitionist ought to have been killed long ago." The volunteers marched in a body to the factory, entered, and dragged the offender out into the road. There they held a crude court-martial. "The company surrounded him," says one of the men, "in such military order as raw recruits could get into, and questioned him as to his utterances. He was willing to do or say anything. 'Duck him!' was the cry raised on every hand. The canal was close at hand, but there were voices heard saying: 'He's an old man. Don't duck him. Send him out of town.' And so it was done. He was compelled to give three cheers for the Stars and Stripes. I shall never forget his pitiful little 'Hooray!' He was made to kneel down and repeat something in praise of Abraham Lincoln that one of the officers dictated to him, and then he was marched to his boarding-place, given certain minutes to pack up his effects, and escorted to the railroad station, where he was sent off on the next train. This was a very mild example of the feeling there was. Had the man been a real American Copperhead, he would scarcely have escaped a ducking, and perhaps a drubbing

also; but many said: 'He's only an Englishman, and doesn't know any better.'"

The most important expression of the feeling was that at a great noon meeting held at the Custom House in New York. Among the speakers were General Butler, E. L. Chittenden, Daniel L. Dickinson, William P. Fessenden, and General Garfield. The awful, wrathful, righteous indignation of the meeting is told in the following citations from the speeches.

"If rebellion can do this to the wise, the kind, the benevolent Abraham Lincoln," said Butler, "what ought we to do to those who from high places incited the assassin's mind and guided the assassin's knife? [Applause, and cries of 'Hang them!'] Shall we content ourselves with simply crushing out the strength, the power, the material resources of the rebellion? ['Never, never.'] Shall we leave it yet unsubdued to light the torch of conflagration in our cities? Are we to have peace in fact or peace only in name? [Cries of 'In fact' and applause.] Is this nation hereafter to live in peace, or are men to go about in fear and in dread, as in some of the countries of the Old World, in times past, when every man feared his neighbor, and no man went about except he was armed to the teeth or was clad in panoply of steel? This question is to be decided this day, and at this hour by the American people. It may be that this is a dispensation of God, through his providence, to teach us that the spirit of rebellion has not been broken with the surrender of its arms." [Applause.]

"Fellow citizens," said Garfield, "they have slain the noblest and most generous spirit that ever put down a rebellion on this earth. [Applause.] It may be almost impious to say it; but it does seem to me that his death almost parallels that of the Son of God, who cried out, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' But in taking away that life they have left the iron hand of the people to fall upon them. [Great applause.] Peace, forgiveness and mercy are the attributes of this government, but Justice and Judgment with inexorable tread follow behind, and when they have

slain love, when they have despised mercy, when they have rejected those that would be their best friends, then comes justice with hoodwinked eyes and the sword."

The tense despair and rage of the people on Saturday had not broken when they gathered on Sunday for worship. Never, perhaps, in any sorrow, any disaster that this nation has suffered, was there so spontaneous a turning to the church for consolation as on this Sabbath day. Never, perhaps, did the clergy of a country rise more universally to console the grief of a people than on this day. Everywhere, from East to West, the death of the President was the theme of the sermons, and men who never before in their lives had said anything but commonplaces rose this day to eloquence. One of the most touching of the Sunday gatherings was at Bloomington, Illinois. Elsewhere it was only a President, a national leader, who had been lost; here it was a personal friend, and people refused to be comforted. On Sunday morning there were sermons in all the churches, but they seemed in no way to relieve the tension. Later in the day word was circulated that a general out-of-door meeting would be held at the court-house, and people gathered from far and near, townspeople and country people, in the yard about the court-house, where for years they had been accustomed to see Lincoln coming and going; and the ministers of the town, all of them his friends, talked one after another, until finally, comforted and resigned, the people separated silently and went home.

On Monday a slight distraction came in the announcement of the plan for the funeral ceremonies. After much discussion, it had been decided that a public funeral should be held in Washington, and that the body should then lie in state for brief periods at each of the larger cities on the way to Springfield, whither it was to be taken for burial. The necessity of at once beginning preparations for the reception of the

funeral party furnished the first real relief to the universal grief which had paralyzed the country.

The dead President had lain in an upper chamber of the White House from the time of his removal there on Saturday morning until Tuesday morning, when he was laid under a magnificent catafalque in the centre of the great East Room. Although there were in Washington many citizens who sympathized with the South, although the plot for assassination had been developed there, yet no sign appeared of any feeling but grief and indignation. It is said that there were not fifty houses in the city that were not draped in black, and it seemed as if every man, woman, and child were seeking some souvenir of the tragedy. A child was found at the Tenth Street house staining bits of soft paper with the half-dried blood on the steps. Fragments of the stained linen from the bed on which the President died were passed from hand to hand; locks of the hair cut away by the surgeons were begged; his latest photograph, the papers of the day, programmes of the funeral, a hundred trivial relics were gathered together, and are treasured to-day by the original owners or their children. They

> "dip their napkins in his sacred blood;
> Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
> And, dying, mention it within their wills,
> Bequeathing it, as a rich legacy,
> Unto their issue."

On Tuesday morning, when the White House was opened, it was practically the whole population, augmented by hundreds from the North, who waited at the gates. All day long they surged steadily through the East Room, and at night, when the gates were closed, Lafayette Park and the adjoining streets were still packed with people waiting for admission. In this great company of mourners two classes were

conspicuous, the soldiers and the negroes. One had come from camp and hospital, the other from country and hovel, and both wept unrestrainedly as they looked on the dead face of the man who had been to one a father, to the other a liberator.

Wednesday had been chosen for the funeral, and every device was employed by the Government to make the ceremony fitting in pomp and solemnity. The greatest of the nation—members of the cabinet, senators, congressmen, diplomats; representatives of the churches, of the courts, of commerce, of all that was distinguished and powerful in the North, were present in the East Room. Mr. Lincoln's friend, Bishop Simpson, and his pastor, Dr. Gurley, conducted the services. More than one spectator noted that in the great assembly there was but one person bearing the name of Lincoln and related to the President—his son Robert. Mrs. Lincoln was not able to endure the emotion of the scene, and little Tad could not be induced to be present.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the booming of cannon and the tolling of bells announced that the services were ended. A few moments later, the coffin was borne from the White House and placed in a magnificent funeral car, and under the conduct of a splendid military and civilian escort, conveyed slowly to the Capitol, attended by thousands upon thousands of men and women. At the east front of the Capitol the procession halted, and the body of Abraham Lincoln was borne across the portico, from which six weeks before in assuming for the second time the presidency, he had explained to the country his views upon reconstruction: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and

cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

The rotunda of the Capitol, into which the coffin was now carried, was draped in black, and under the dome was a great catafalque. On this the coffin was placed, and after a simple service there left alone, save for the soldiers who paced back and forth at the head and foot.

But it was not in Washington alone that funeral services were held that day. All over the North, in Canada, in the Army of the Potomac, even in Richmond, business was suspended, and at noon people gathered to listen to eulogies of the dead. Twenty-five million people literally participated in the funeral rites of that Wednesday.

On Thursday the Capitol was opened, and here again, in spite of a steady rain, were repeated the scenes of Tuesday at the White House, thousands of persons slowly mounting the long flight of steps leading to the east entrance and passing through the rotunda.

At six o'clock on the morning of April 21, there gathered in the rotunda the members of the cabinet, Lieutenant-General Grant and his staff, many senators, army and navy officers, and other dignitaries. After a prayer by Dr. Gurley, the party followed the coffin to the railway station, where the funeral train which was to convey the remains of Abraham Lincoln from Washington to Springfield now stood. A great company of people had gathered for the last scene of the tragedy, and they waited in absolute silence and with uncovered heads while the coffin was placed in the car. At its foot was placed a smaller coffin, that of Willie Lincoln, the President's beloved son, who had died in February, 1862. At Mrs. Lincoln's request, father and son were to make together this last earthly journey.

Following the remains of the President came the party which was to serve as an escort to Springfield. It included

several of Lincoln's old-time friends, among them Judge David Davis and Ward Lamon; a Guard of Honor, composed of prominent army officers; a large congressional committee, several governors of States, a special delegation from Illinois, and a bodyguard. From time to time on the journey this party was joined for brief periods by other eminent men, though it remained practically the same throughout. Three of its members—Judge Davis, General Hunter, and Marshal Lamon—had been with Mr. Lincoln when he came on to Washington for his first inauguration.

Precisely at eight o'clock, the train of nine cars pulled out from the station. It moved slowly, almost noiselessly, not a bell ringing nor a whistle sounding, through a mourning throng that lined the way to the borders of the town.

The line of the journey begun on this Friday morning was practically the same that Mr. Lincoln had followed four years before when he came to Washington for his first inauguration. It led through Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, and Chicago, to Springfield. The entire programme of the journey, including the hours when the train would pass certain towns where it could not stop, had been published long enough beforehand to enable the people along the way to arrange, if they wished, to pay a tribute to the dead President. The result was a demonstration which in sincerity and unanimity has never been equalled in the world's history. The journey began at six o'clock on the morning of April 21, and lasted until nine o'clock of the morning of May 3: and it might almost be said that during the whole time there was not an hour of the night or day, whether the coffin lay in state in some heavily draped public building or was being whirled across the country, when mourning crowds were not regarding it with wet eyes and bowed heads. Night and darkness in no way lessened the number of the

mourners. Thus it was not until eight o'clock on Saturday evening (April 22) that the coffin was placed in Independence Hall, at Philadelphia. The building was at once opened to the public, and through the whole night thousands filed in to look on the dead man's face. It was at one o'clock in the morning, on Monday, that the coffin was carried from Independence Hall to the train, but thousands of men, women, and children stood in the streets while the procession passed, as if it were day. In New York, on the following Tuesday, City Hall, where the coffin had been placed in the afternoon, remained open the whole night. The crowd was even greater than during the day, filling the side streets around the square in every direction. It was more impressive, too, for the men and women who were willing to watch out the night in the flare of torches and gaslights were laborers who could not secure release in daytime. Many of them had come great distances, and hundreds were obliged, after leaving the hall, to find a bed in a doorway, so overfilled was the town. The crowd was at its greatest at midnight, when, as the bells were tolling the hour, a German chorus of some seventy voices commenced suddenly to sing the *Integer vitae*. The thrilling sweetness of the music coming unexpectedly upon the mourners produced an effect never to be forgotten.

Nor did rain make any more difference with the crowd than the darkness. Several times during the journey there arose heavy storms; but the people, in utter indifference, stood in the streets, often uncovered, to see the catafalque and its guard go by or waiting their turn to be admitted to view the coffin.

The great demonstrations were, of course, in the cities where the remains lay in state for a few hours. These demonstrations were perforce much alike. The funeral train was met at the station by the distinguished men of the city and representatives of organizations. The coffin was trans-

ferred to a stately hearse, draped in velvet and crape, surmounted by heavy plumes, ornamented in silver, and drawn by six, eight, ten, or more horses. Then, to the tolling of the bells and the regular firing of minute guns, followed by a vast concourse of people, it was carried to the place appointed for the lying in state. Here a crowd which seemed unending filed by until the time came to close the coffin, when the procession reformed to attend the hearse to the funeral train.

The first of these demonstrations was in Baltimore, the city which a little over four years before it had been thought unsafe for the President to pass through openly, the city in which the first troops called out for the defense of the Union had been mobbed. Now no offering was sufficient to express the feeling of sorrow. All buildings draped in black, all business suspended, the people poured out in a driving rain to follow the catafalque to the Exchange, where for two hours, on April 21, the public was admitted.

As was to be expected, the most elaborate of the series of funeral ceremonies was in New York. There, when the funeral train arrived on Tuesday, April 25, the whole city was swathed in crape, and vast crowds filled the streets. The climax of the obsequies was the procession which, on Wednesday, followed the hearse up Broadway and Fifth Avenue to Thirty-fourth Street and thence to the Hudson River station. For a week this procession had been preparing, until finally it included representatives of almost every organization of every nature in the city and vicinity. The military was represented by detachments from scores of different regiments, and by many distinguished officers of the army and navy, among them General Scott and Admiral Farragut. Companies of the Seventh Regiment were on each side of the funeral car. The city sent its officials—educational, judicial, protective. The foreign consuls marched

in full uniform. There were scores of societies and clubs, including all the organizations of Irish, German, and Hebrews. The whole life of the city was, in fact, represented in the solid column of men which marched that day through the streets of New York in such numbers that it took four hours to pass a single point. Deepest in significance of all the long rank was the rear body in the last division: 200 colored men bearing a banner inscribed with the words, "Abraham Lincoln—Our Emancipator." A platoon of police preceded, another followed the delegation, for the presence of these freedmen would, it was believed by many, cause disorder, and permission for them to march had only been obtained by an appeal to the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton. Several white men walked with them, and at many points sympathizers took pains to applaud. With this single exception, the procession passed through a silent multitude, the only sound the steady tramp of feet and the music of the funeral dirges.

At four o'clock the funeral car reached the station, and the journey was continued toward Albany. But the obsequies in New York did not end then. A meeting was held that night in Union Square, at which George Bancroft delivered an oration that will remain as one of the great expressions of the day upon Lincoln and the ideas for which he worked. It was for this gathering that Bryant wrote his "Ode for the Burial of Abraham Lincoln," beginning:

> "Oh, slow to smite and swift to spare,
> Gentle and merciful and just;
> Who in the fear of God did'st bear
> The sword of power, a Nation's trust."

Imposing, solemn, and sincere as was this series of municipal demonstrations over the bier of Lincoln, there was another feature of the funeral march which showed more vividly the affectionate reverence in which the whole people

held the President. This was the outpouring at villages, country cross-roads, and farms to salute, as it passed, the train bearing his remains. From Washington to Springfield the train entered scarcely a town that the bells were not tolling, the minute guns firing, the stations draped, and all the spaces beside the track crowded with people with uncovered heads. At many points arches were erected over the track; at others the bridges were wreathed from end to end in crape and evergreens and flags. And this was not in the towns alone; every farm-house by which the train passed became for the time a funeral house; the plow was left in the furrow, crape was on the door, the neighbors were gathered, and those who watched from the train as it flew by could see groups of weeping women, of men with uncovered heads, sometimes a minister among them, his arms raised in prayer. Night did not hinder them. Great bonfires were built in lonely country-sides, around which the farmers waited patiently to salute their dead. At the towns the length of the train was lit by blazing torches. Storm as well as darkness was unheeded. Much of the journey was made through the rain, in fact, but the people seemed to have forgotten all things but that Abraham Lincoln, the man they loved and trusted, was passing by for the last time.

At eleven o'clock on the morning of Monday, May 1, the funeral train reached Chicago, and here the mourning began to take on a character distinctly different from what had marked it through the East. The people who now met the coffin, who followed it to the court-house, who passed in endless streams by it to look on Lincoln's face, dated their trust in him many years earlier than 1861. Man after man of them had come to pay their last tribute, not to the late President of the United States, but to the genial lawyer, the resourceful, witty political debater who had educated Illinois to believe that a country could not endure half slave and half

free, and who, after defeat, had kept her faithful to the "durable struggle" by his counsel. The tears these men shed were the tears of long-time friends and personal followers.

As the train advanced from Chicago toward Springfield the personal and intimate character of the mourning grew. The journey was made at night, but the whole population of the country lined the route. Nearly every one of the towns passed—indeed, one might almost say every one of the farms passed— had been visited personally by Lincoln on legal or political errands, and a vast number of those who thus in the dead of night watched the flying train he had at some time in his life taken by the hand.

It was nine o'clock on the morning of May 3 that the funeral train entered the town where, four years and two months before, Abraham Lincoln had bidden his friends farewell, as he left them to go to Washington. Nearly all of those who on that dreary February morning had listened to his solemn farewell words were present in the May sunshine to receive him. Their hearts had been heavy as he departed; they were broken now, for he was more than a great leader, an honored martyr, to the men of Springfield. He was their neighbor and friend and helper, and as they bore his coffin to the State House, in the centre of the city, their minds were busy, not with the greatness and honor that had come to him and to them through him, but with the scenes of more than a quarter of a century in which he had always been a conspicuous figure. Every corner of the street suggested that past. Here was the office in which he had first studied law; here, draped in mourning, the one before which his name still hung. Here was the house where he had lived, the church he had attended, the store in which he had been accustomed to tell stories and to discuss politics. His name was written everywhere, even on the walls of the Hall of

Representatives in the State House, where they placed his coffin, for here he had spoken again and again.

During the time that the body lay in state—from the noon of May 3 until the noon of May 4—the place Lincoln held in Springfield and the surrounding country was shown as never before. The men and women who came to look on his face were many of them the plain farmers of Sangamon and adjacent counties, and they wept as over the coffin of a father. Their grief at finding him so changed was inconsolable. In the days after leaving Washington the face changed greatly, and by the time Springfield was reached it was black and shrunken almost beyond recognition. To many the last look at their friend was so painful that the remembrance has never left them. The writer has seen men weep as they recalled the scene, and heard them say repeatedly, "If I had not seen him dead; if I could only remember him alive!"

It was on May 4, fifteen days after the funeral in Washington, that Abraham Lincoln's remains finally rested in Oakland Cemetery, a shaded and beautiful spot, two miles from Springfield. Here, at the foot of a woody knoll, a vault had been prepared; and thither, attended by a great concourse of military and civic dignitaries, by governors of States, members of Congress, officers of the army and navy, delegations from orders, from cities, from churches, by the friends of his youth, his young manhood, his maturer years, was Lincoln carried and laid, by his side his little son. The solemn rite was followed by dirge and prayer, by the reading of his last inaugural address, and by a noble funeral oration by Bishop Simpson. Then, as the beautiful day drew toward evening, the vault was closed, and the great multitudes slowly returned to their duties.

The funeral pageant was at an end, but the mourning was not silenced. From every corner of the earth there came to

the family and to the Government tributes to the greatness of the character and life of the murdered man. Medals were cast, tablets engraved, parchments engrossed. At the end of the year, when the State Department came to publish the diplomatic correspondence of 1865, there was a volume of over 700 pages, containing nothing but expressions of condolence and sympathy on Lincoln's death. Nor did the mourning and the honor end there. From the day of his death until now, the world has gone on rearing monuments to Abraham Lincoln.

The first and inevitable result of the emotion which swept over the earth at Lincoln's death was to enroll him among martyrs and heroes. Men forgot that they had despised him, jeered at him, doubted him. They forgot his mistakes, forgot his plodding caution, forgot his homely ways. They saw now, with the vision which an awful and sudden disaster so often gives, the simple, noble outlines on which he had worked. They realized how completely he had sunk every partisan and personal consideration, every non-essential, in the tasks which he had set for himself—to prevent the extension of slavery, to save the Union. They realized how, while they had forgotten everything in disputes over this man, this measure, this event, he had seen only the two great objects of the struggle. They saw how slowly, but surely, he had educated them to feel the vital importance of these objects, had resolved their partisan warfare into a moral struggle. The wisdom of his words, the sincerity of his acts, the steadfastness of his life were clear to them at last. With this realization came a feeling that he was more than a man. He was a prophet, they said, a man raised up by God for a special work, and they laid then the foundation of the Lincoln myth which still enthralls so many minds.

The real Lincoln, the great Lincoln, is not, however, this prophet and martyr. He is the simple, steady, resolute, un-

selfish man whose supreme ambition was to find out the truth of the questions which confronted him in life, and whose highest satisfaction was in following the truth he discovered. He was not endowed by nature with the vision of a seer. His power of getting at the truth of things he had won by incessant mental effort. From his boyhood he would *understand,* though he must walk the floor all night with his problem. Nor had nature made him a saint. His lofty moral courage in the Civil War was the logical result of life-long fidelity to his own conscience. From his boyhood he would keep faith with that which his mind told him was true, though he lost friend and place by it. When he entered public life these qualities at first won him position; but they cost him a position more than once. They sent him to Congress; but, in 1849, they forced him out of public life. They brought him face to face with Douglas from 1854 to 1858, and enabled him to shape the moral sentiment of the Northwest; but later they defeated him. They made him Illinois's candidate for the presidency in 1860; but they brought upon him as President the distrust and hatred of even his own party. It took four years of dogged struggle, of constant repetitions of the few truths which he believed to be essential, to teach the people of the United States that they could trust him; it took a murderer's bullet to make them realize the surpassing greatness of his simplicity, his common sense, and his resolution. It is this man who never rested until he had found what he believed to be the right, and, who, having found it, could never be turned from it, who is the Real Lincoln.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

The following Letters, Telegrams and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln have been collected by the author in the course of the work of preparing this Life of Lincoln. None of these documents appear in Lincoln's "Complete Works" edited by Nicolay and Hay or in any other collection of his writings.

NEW SALEM, Aug. 10, 1833.

F. C. BLANKENSHIP:

DEAR SIR:—In regard to the time David Rankin served the enclosed discharge shows correctly—as well as I can recollect—having no writing to refer. The transfer of Rankin from my company occurred as follows—Rankin having lost his horse at Dixon's ferry and having acquaintance in one of the foot companies who were going down the river was desirous to go with them, and one Galishen being an acquaintance of mine and belonging to the company in which Rankin wished to go wished to leave it and join mine, this being the case it was agreed that they should exchange places and answer to each others names—as it was expected we all *would* be discharged in *very* few days. As to a blanket—I have no knowledge of Rankin ever getting any. The above embraces all the facts now in my recollection which are pertinent to the case.

I shall take pleasure in giving any further information in my power should you call on me.

Your friend, A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by DeWitt C. Sprague, Washington, D. C.)

MR. SPEARS:

At your request I send you a receipt for the postage on your paper. I am somewhat surprised at your request. I will, however, comply with it. The law requires Newspaper postage to be paid in advance, and now that I have waited a full year you choose to wound my feelings by insinuating that unless you get a receipt I will probably make you pay it again—

Respectfully, A. LINCOLN.

Received of George Spears in full for postage on the "Sangamon Journal" up to the first of July, 1834.

A. LINCOLN, P. M.

(From fac-simile of letter printed in Menard-Salem-Lincoln Souvenir Album. Petersburg, 1893.)

REPORT OF ROAD SURVEY, written by Abraham Lincoln.

To the County Commissioner's Court for the County of Sangamon:—

We, the undersigned, being appointed to view and relocate a part of the road between Sangamon town and the town of Athens respectfully report that we have performed the duty of said appointment according to law—and that we have made the said relocation on good ground—and believe the same to be necessary and proper.

JAMES STROWBRIDGE,
LEVI CANTRALL,
A. LINCOLN.

Athens, Nov. 4, 1834.

Herewith is the map—The court may allow me the following charges if they think proper—

1 day's labour as surveyor	$3.00
Making map	.50
	$3.50

A. LINCOLN.

(Original in office of county clerk, Springfield, Ill.)

John Bennett, Esq.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Aug. 5, 1837.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Edwards tells me you wish to know whether the act to which your town incorporation provision was attached passed into a law. It did. You can organize under the general incorporation law as soon as you choose. I also tacked a provision on to a fellow's bill to authorize the re-location of the road from Salem down to your town, but I am not certain whether or not the bill passed, neither do I suppose I can ascertain before the law will be published, if it is a law. Bowling Greene, Bennett Abell, and yourself are appointed to make the change.

No news. No excitement except a little about the election of Monday next. I suppose of course our friend, Dr. Henry, stands no chance in your "diggings."

Your friend and humble servant,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by E. R. Oeltjen, Petersburg, Illinois.)

TO THE PEOPLE.

"SANGAMO JOURNAL," SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Aug. 19, 1837.

In accordance with our determination, as expressed last week, we present to the reader the articles which were published in hand-bill form, in reference to the case of the heirs of Joseph Anderson *vs.* James Adams. These articles can now be read, uninfluenced by personal or party feeling, and with the sole motive of learning the truth. When that is done, the reader can pass his own judgment on the matters at issue.

We only regret in this case, that the publications were not made some weeks before the election. Such a course might have prevented the expressions of regret, which have often been heard since, from different individuals, on account of the disposition they made of their votes.

TO THE PUBLIC.

It is well known to most of you, that there is existing at this time, considerable excitement in regard to Gen. Adams's titles to certain tracts of land, and the manner in which he acquired them. As I understand, the Gen. charges that the whole has been gotten up by a knot of lawyers to injure his election; and as I am one of the knot to which he refers—and as I happen to be in possession of facts connected with the matter, I will, in as brief a manner as possible, make a statement of them, together with the means by which I arrived at the knowledge of them.

Sometime in May or June last, a widow woman, by the name of Anderson, and her son, who resides in Fulton county, came to Springfield, for the purpose, as they said, of selling a ten acre lot of ground lying near town, which they claimed as the property of the deceased husband and father.

When they reached town they found the land was claimed by Gen. Adams. John T. Stuart and myself were employed to look into the matter, and if it was thought we could do so with any prospect of success, to commence a suit for the land. I went immediately to the recorder's office to examine Adams's title, and found that the land had been entered by one Dixon, deeded by Dixon to Thomas, by Thomas to one Miller, and by Miller to Gen. Adams. —The oldest of these three deeds was about ten or eleven years old, and the latest more than five, all recorded at the same time, and that within less than one year. This I thought a suspicious circumstance, and I was thereby induced to examine the deeds very closely, with a view to the discovery of some defect by which to overturn the title, being almost convinced then it was founded in fraud. I finally discovered that in the deed from Thomas to Miller, although Miller's name stood in a sort of marginal note on the record book, it was nowhere in the deed itself. I told the fact

to Talbott, the recorder, and proposed to him that he should go to Gen. Adams's and get the original deed, and compare it with the record, and thereby ascertain whether the defect was in the original, or there was merely an error in the recording. As Talbott afterwards told me, he went to the General's, but not finding him at home, got the deed from his son, which, when compared with the record, proved what we had discovered was merely an error of the recorder. After Mr. Talbott corrected the record, he brought the original to our office, as I then thought and think yet, to show us that it was right. When he came into the room he handed the deed to me, remarking that the fault was all his own. On opening it, another paper fell out of it, which on examination, proved to be an assignment of a judgment in the Circuit Court of Sangamon County from Joseph Anderson, the late husband of the widow above named, to James Adams, the judgment being in favor of said Anderson against one Joseph Miller. Knowing that this judgment had some connection with the land affair, I immediately took a copy of it, which is word for word, letter for letter and cross for cross as follows:

"Joseph Anderson,
vs.
Joseph Miller.

Judgment in Sangamon Circuit Court against Joseph Miller obtained on a note originally 25 dolls and interest thereon accrued.

I assign all my right, title and interest to James Adams which is in consideration of a debt I owe said Adams.

May 10th, 1827.

his
JOSEPH X ANDERSON.
mark."

As the copy shows, it bore date May 10, 1827; although the judgment assigned by it was not obtained until the October afterwards, as may be seen by any one on the records of the Circuit Court. Two other strange circumstances attended it which cannot be represented by a copy. One of them was, that the date "1827" had first been made "1837" and without the figure "3" being fully obliterated, the figure "2" had afterwards been made on top of it; the other was that, although the date was ten years old, the writing on it, from the freshness of its appearance, was thought by many, and I believe by all who saw it, not to be more than a week old. The paper on which it was written had a very old appearance; and there were some old figures on the back of it which made the freshness of the writing on the face of it, much more striking than I suppose it otherwise might have been. The reader's curi-

osity is no doubt excited to know what connection this assignment had with the land in question. The story is this: Dixon sold and deeded the land to Thomas:—Thomas sold it to Anderson; but before he gave a deed, Anderson sold it to Miller, and took Miller's note for the purchase money.—When this note became due, Anderson sued Miller on it, and Miller procured an injunction from the Court of Chancery to stay the collection of the money until he should get a deed for the land. Gen. Adams was employed as an attorney by Anderson in this chancery suit, and at the October term, 1827, the injunction was dissolved, and a judgment given in favor of Anderson against Miller; and it was provided that Thomas was to execute a deed for the land in favor of Miller, and deliver it to Gen. Adams, to be held up by him till Miller paid the judgment, and then to deliver it to him. Miller left the county without paying the judgment. Anderson moved to Fulton county, where he has since died. When the widow came to Springfield last May or June, as before mentioned, and found the land deeded to Gen. Adams by Miller, she was naturally led to enquire why the money due upon the judgment had not been sent to them, inasmuch as he, Gen. Adams, had no authority to deliver Thomas's deed to Miller until the money was paid. Then it was the General told her, or perhaps her son, who came with her, that Anderson, in his lifetime, *had assigned the judgment to him,* Gen. Adams. I am now told that the General is exhibiting an assignment of the same judgment bearing date "1828;" and in other respects differing from the one described; and that he is asserting that no such assignment as the one copied by me ever existed; or if there did, it was forged between Talbott and the lawyers, and slipped into his papers for the purpose of injuring him. Now, I can only say that I know precisely such a one did exist, and that Ben. Talbott, Wm. Butler, C. R. Matheny, John T. Stuart, Judge Logan, Robert Irwin, P. C. Canedy and S. M. Tinsley, all saw and examined it, and that at least one half of them will swear that *IT WAS IN GENERAL ADAMS'S HANDWRITING!!* And further, I know that Talbott will swear that he got it out of the General's possession, and returned it into his possession again. The assignment which the General is now exhibiting purports to have been by Anderson in writing. The one I copied was signed with a cross.

I am told that Gen. Neale says that he will swear, that he heard Gen. Adams tell young Anderson that the assignment made by his father was signed with a cross.

The above are facts, as stated. I leave them without comment. I have given the names of persons who have knowledge of these facts, in order that any one who chooses may call on them and ascertain how far they will corroborate my statements. I have only made these statements because I am known by many to be one of the individuals against whom the charge of forging the assignment and slipping it into the General's papers, has been made; and because our silence might be construed into a confes-

sion of its truth. I shall not subscribe my name; but I hereby authorize the editor of the 'Journal' to give it up to any one that may call for it."

"It having been stated this morning that the subscriber had refused to give the name of the author of the hand-bill above referred to (which statement is not true): to save any farther remarks on this subject, I now state that A. Lincoln, Esq., is the author of the hand-bill in question. SIMEON FRANCIS.
"August 7, 1837."

Messrs. Lincoln and Talbott in reply to Gen. Adams.

"SANGAMO JOURNAL," SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Sept. 9, 1837.

In the "Republican" of this morning a publication of Gen. Adams's appears, in which my name is used quite unreservedly. For this I thank the General. I thank him because it gives me an opportunity, without appearing obtrusive, of explaining a part of a former publication of mine, which appears to me to have been misunderstood by many.

In the former publication alluded to, I stated, in substance, that Mr. Talbott got a deed from a son of Gen. Adams's for the purpose of correcting a mistake that had occurred on the record of the said deed in the recorder's office—that he corrected the record, and brought the deed and handed it to me—and that, on opening the deed, another paper, being the assignment of a judgment, *fell out* of it. This statement Gen. Adams and the editor of the "Republican," have seized upon as a most palpable evidence of fabrication and falsehood. They set themselves gravely about proving that the assignment could not have been in the deed when Talbott got it from young Adams, as he, Talbott, would have seen it when he opened the deed to correct the record. Now, the truth is, Talbott *did* see the assignment when he opened the deed, or at least he told me he did on the same day; and I only omitted to say so, in my former publication, because it was a matter of such palpable and necessary inference. I had stated that Talbott had corrected the record by the deed; and of course he must have opened it; and, just as the General and his friends argue, must have seen the assignment. I omitted to state the fact of Talbott's seeing the assignment, because its existence was so necessarily connected with other facts which I did state, that I thought the greatest dunce could not but understand it. Did I say Talbott had not seen it? Did I say *anything* that was *inconsistent* with his having seen it before? Most certainly I did neither; and if I did not, what becomes of the argument? These logical gentlemen cannot sustain their argument only by assuming that I *did say negatively* everything that I *did not* say affirmatively; and upon the same assumption, we may expect to find the General, if a little harder

pressed for argument, saying that I said Talbott came to our office with his head downward, not that I actually said so, but because I omitted to say he came feet downward.

In his publication to-day, the General produces the affidavit of Reuben Radford, in which it is said that Talbott told Radford that he did not find the assignment in the deed, in the recording of which the error was omitted, but that he found it wrapped in another paper in the recorder's office, upon which statement the Genl. comments, as follows, to-wit:—"If it be true as stated by Talbott to Radford, that he found the assignment wrapped up in another paper at his office, that contradicts the statement of Lincoln that it fell out of the deed."

Is common sense to be abused with such sophistry? Did I say what Tabott found it in? If Talbott *did* find it in another paper at *his* office, is that any reason why he could not have folded it in a deed and brought it to *my* office, can any one be so far duped, as to be made believe that what may have happened at *Talbott's* office at one time, is inconsistent with what happened at *my* office at another time?

Now Talbott's statement of the case as he makes it to me is this, that he got a bunch of deeds from young Adams, and that he knows he found the assignment in the bunch, but he is not certain which particular deed it was in, nor is he certain whether it was folded in the same deed out of which it was took, or another one, when it was brought to my office. Is this a mysterious story? Is there anything suspicious about it?

"But it is useless to dwell longer on this point. Any man who is not wilfully blind can see at a blush, that there is no discrepancy and Lincoln has shown that they are not only inconsistent with truth, but each other"—I can only say, that I have shown that he has done no such thing; and if the reader is disposed to require any other evidence than the General's assertion, he will be of my opinion.

Excepting the General's most flimsy attempt at mystification, in regard to a discrepance between Talbott and myself, he has not denied a single statement that I made in my hand-bill. Every material statement that I made has been sworn to by men who, in former times, were thought as respectable as General Adams. I stated that an assignment of a judgment, a copy of which I gave, had existed—Benj. Talbott, C. R. Matheny, Wm. Butler, and Judge Logan, swore to its existence, I stated that it was said to be in Gen. Adams's handwriting—the same men swore it was in his handwriting. I stated that Talbott would swear that he got it out of Gen. Adams's possession—Talbott came forward and did swear it.

Bidding adieu to the former publication, I now propose to examine the General's last gigantic production. I now propose to point out some discrepancies in the General's address; and such too, as he shall not be able to escape from. Speaking of the famous assignment, the General says "This last charge, which was their last

resort, their dying effort to render my character infamous among my fellow citizens, was manufactured at a certain lawyer's office in the town, printed at the office of the 'Sangamon Journal,' and found its way into the world some time between two days *just before the last election.*" Now turn to Mr. Keys's affidavit in which you will find the following, (viz.) "I certify that some time in May or the early part of June, 1837, I saw at Williams's corner, a paper purporting to be an assignment from Joseph Anderson to James Adams, which assignment, was signed by a mark to Anderson's name," etc. Now mark, if Keys saw the assignment on the last of May or first of June, Gen. Adams tells a falsehood when he says it was *manufactured just before the election,* which was on the 7th of August; and if it was manufactured just before the election, Keys tells a falsehood when he says he saw it on the last of May or first of June. Either Keys or the General is irretrievably in for it; and in the General's very condescending language, I say "let them settle it between them."

Now again, let the reader, bearing in mind that General Adams has unequivocally said, in one part of his address, that the charge in relation to the assignment was *manufactured just before the election;* turn to the affidavit of Peter S. Weber, where the following will be found, (viz.) "I, Peter S. Weber, do certify that from the best of my recollection, on the day or day after Gen. Adams started for the Illinois Rapids, in May last, that I was at the house of Gen. Adams, sitting in the kitchen, situated on the back part of the house, it being in the afternoon, and that Benjamin Talbott came around the house, back into the kitchen, and appeared wild and confused, and that he laid a package of papers on the kitchen table and requested that they should be handed to Lucian. He made no apology for coming to the kitchen, nor for not handing them to Lucian himself, but showed the token of being frightened and confused both in demeanor and speech and for what cause I could not apprehend."

Commenting on Weber's affidavit, Gen. Adams asks, "Why this fright and confusion?" I reply that this is a question for the General himself. Weber says that it was in May, and if so, it is most clear, that Talbott was not frightened on account of the assignment, unless the General lies when he says the assignment charge was manufactured *just before the election.* Is it not a strong evidence, that the General is not traveling with the pole-star of truth in his front, to see him in one part of his address roundly asserting that the assignment was manufactured *just before the election,* and then, forgetting that position, procuring Weber's most foolish affidavit, to prove that Talbott had been engaged in manufacturing it *two months before?*

In another part of his address, Gen. Adams says, "That I hold an assignment of said judgment, dated the 20th of May, 1828, and signed by said Anderson, I have never pretended to deny or conceal, but stated that fact in one of my circulars previous to the

election, and also in answer *to a bill in chancery.*" Now I pronounce this statement unqualifiedly false, and shall not rely on the word or oath of any man to sustain me in what I say; but will let the whole be decided by reference to the circular and answer in chancery of which the General speaks. In his circular he did speak of an assignment; but he *did not* say it bore date 20th of May, 1828; nor did he say it bore any date. In his answer in chancery, he did say that he had an assignment; but he *did not* say that it bore date the 20th May, 1828; but so far from it, he said on oath (for he swore to the answer) that as well as recollected, he obtained it in 1827. If any one doubts, let him examine the circular and answer for himself They are both accessible.

It will readily be observed that the principal part of Adams's defense, rests upon the argument, that if he had been base enough to forge an assignment, he would not have been *fool enough* to forge one that would not cover the case. This argument he used in his circular before the election. The "Republican" has used it at least once, since then; and Adams uses it again in his publication of to-day. Now I pledge myself to show that he is just such a *fool,* that he and his friends have contended it was impossible for him to be. Recollect—he says he has a genuine assignment; and that he got Joseph Klein's affidavit, stating that he had seen it, and that he believed the signature to have been executed by the same hand, that signed Anderson's name to the answer in Chancery. Luckily Klein took a copy of this *genuine* assignment, which I have been permitted to see; and hence I know *it does not cover the case.* In the first place it is headed "Joseph Anderson vs. Joseph Miller," and heads off "Judgment in Sangamon Circuit Court." Now, mark, there never was a case in Sangamon Circuit Court entitled Joseph Anderson vs. Joseph Miller. The case mentioned in my former publication, and the only one between these parties that ever existed in the Circuit Court, was entitled Joseph Miller vs. Joseph Anderson, Miller being the plaintiff. What then becomes of all their sophistry about Adams not being *fool enough* to forge an assignment that would not cover the case? It is certain that the present one does not cover the case; and if he got it honestly, it is still clear that he *was fool enough* to pay for an assignment that does not cover the case.

The General asks for the proof of disinterested witnesses. Who does he consider disinterested? None can be more so than those who have already testified against him. No one of them had the least interest on earth, so far as I can learn, to injure him. True, he says they had conspired against him; but if the testimony of an angel from Heaven were introduced against him, he would make the same charge of conspiracy. And now I put the question to every reflecting man, do you believe that Benjamin Talbott, Chas. R. Matheny, William Butler and Stephen T. Logan all sustaining high and spotless characters, and justly proud of them, would deliberately perjure themselves, without any motive

whatever, except to injure a man's election; and that, too, a man who had been a candidate, time out of mind, and yet who had never been elected to any office?

Adams's assurance, in demanding disinterested testimony, is surpassing. He brings in the affidavit of his own son, and even of Peter S. Weber, with whom I am not acquainted, but who, I suppose, is some black or mulatto boy, from his being kept in the kitchen, to prove his points; but when such a man as Talbott, a man who, but two years ago, run against Gen. Adams for the office of Recorder and beat him more than four votes to one, is introduced against him, he asks the community, with all the consequence of a Lord, to reject his testimony.

I might easily write a volume, pointing out inconsistencies between the statements in Adams's last address with one another, and with other known facts; but I am aware the reader must already be tired with the length of this article, his opening statements, that he was first accused of being a tory, and that he refuted that; that then the Sampson's ghost story was got up, and he refuted that; that as a last resort, a dying effort, the assignment charge was got up is all as false as hell, as all this community must know. Sampson's ghost first made its appearance in print, and that too, after Keys swears he saw the assignment, as any one may see by reference to the files of papers; and Gen. Adams himself, in reply to the Sampson's ghost story, was the *first man* that raised the cry of *toryism* and it was only by way of set off, and never in seriousness that it was banded back at him. His effort is to make the impression that his enemies first made the charge of toryism and he drove them from that, then Sampson's ghost, he drove them from that, then finally the assignment charge was manufactured *just before the election.* Now, the only general reply he ever made to the Sampson's ghost and tory charges, he made *at one and the same time,* and not in succession as he states; and the date of that reply will show, that it was made at least a month *after* the date on which Keys swears he saw the Anderson assignment. But enough. In conclusion I will only say that I have a character to defend as well as Gen. Adams, but I disdain to *whine* about it as he does. It is true I have no children nor *kitchen boys;* and if I had, I should scorn to lug them in to make affidavits for me.

A. LINCOLN.

September 6, 1837.

TO THE PUBLIC.

SANGAMO JOURNAL, SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Oct. 28, 1837.

Such is the turn which things have lately taken, that when Gen. Adams writes a book, I am expected to write a commentary on it. In the "Republican" of this morning he has presented the world with a new work of six columns in length: in consequence of which

I must beg the room of one column in the "Journal." It is obvious that a minute reply cannot be made in one column to everything that can be said in six; and, consequently, I hope that expectation will be answered, if I reply to such parts of the General's publication as are worth replying to.

It may not be improper to remind the reader that in his publication of Sept. 6th General Adams said that the assignment charge was manufactured *just before the election;* and that in reply I proved that statement to be false by Keys, his own witness. Now, without attempting to explain, he furnishes me with another witness (Tinsley) by which the same thing is proved, to wit, that the assignment *was not* manufactured *just before the election;* but that it was *some weeks* before. Let it be borne in mind that Adams made this statement—has himself furnished two witnesses to prove its falsehood, and does not attempt to deny or explain it. Before going farther, let a pin be stuck here, labeled "one lie proved and confessed." On the 6th of September he said he had before stated in the hand bill that he held an assignment dated May 20th, 1828, which in reply I pronounced to be false, and referred to the hand bill for the truth of what I said. This week he forgets to make any explanation of this. Let another pin be stuck here, labeled as before. I mention these things, because, if, when I convict him in one falsehood, he is permitted to shift his ground and pass it by in silence, there can be no end to this controversy.

The first thing that attracts my attention in the General's present production, is the information he is pleased to give to "Those who are made to suffer at his (my) *hands.*"

Under present circumstances, this cannot apply to me, for I am not a *widow* nor an *orphan:* nor have I a wife or children who might by possibility become such. Such, however, I have no doubt, have been, and will again be made to suffer at his *hands! ! Hands!* Yes, they are the mischievous agents.—The next thing I shall notice is his favorite expression, "not of lawyers, doctors and others," which he is so fond of applying to all who dare expose his rascality. Now, let it be remembered that when he first came to this country he attempted to impose himself upon the community as a *lawyer,* and actually carried the attempt so far, as to induce a man who was under a charge of murder to entrust the defense of his life in his hands, and finally took his money and got him hanged. Is this the man that is to raise a breeze in his favor by abusing lawyers? If he is not himself a lawyer, it is for the lack of sense, and not of inclination. If he is not a lawyer, he *is* a liar for he proclaimed himself a lawyer, and got a man hanged by depending on him.

Passing over such parts of the article as have neither fact nor argument in them, I come to the question asked by Adams whether any person ever saw the assignment in his possession. This is an insult to common sense. Talbott has sworn once and

repeated time and again, that he got it *out* of Adams's possession and returned it into the same possession. Still, as though he was addressing fools, he has assurance to ask if any person ever saw it in his possession.— Next I quote a sentence, "Now my son Lucian swears that when Talbott called for the deed, that he, Talbott, opened it and *pointed out the error.*" True. His son Lucian did swear as he says; and in doing so, he swore what I will prove by his own affidavit to be a falsehood. Turn to Lucian's affidavit, and you will there see that Talbott called for the deed by which to correct an error on the *record.* Thus it appears that the error in question was on the *record,* and not in the *deed.* How then could Talbott open the deed and point out the *error?* Where a thing *is not,* it cannot be pointed out. The error *was not* in the *deed,* and of course could not be pointed out there. This does not merely prove that the error could not be pointed out, as Lucian swore it was; but it proves, too, that the deed was not opened in his presence with a special view to the error, for if it had been, he could not have failed to see that there was no error in it. It is easy enough to see why Lucian swore this. His object was to prove that the assignment *was not* in the deed, when Talbott got it: but it was discovered he could not swear this safely, without first swearing the deed was *opened*—and if he swore it was *opened,* he must show a *motive* for opening it, and the conclusion with him and his father was, that the pointing out the error, would appear the most plausible.

For the purpose of showing that the assignment was not in the bundle when Talbott got it, is the story introduced into Lucian's affidavit that the deeds were counted. It is a remarkable fact, and one that should stand as a warning to all liars and fabricators, that in this short affidavit of Lucian's, he only attempted to depart from the truth, so far as I have the means of knowing, in two points, to-wit, in *the opening the deed and pointing out the error;* and the *counting of the deeds,*—and in both of these he caught himself. About the counting, he caught himself thus—after saying the bundle contained *five* deeds and a lease, he proceeds, "and I saw no other papers than the *said deed* and lease." First he has *six* papers, and then he saw none but *two* for "my son Lucian's" benefit, let a pin be stuck here.

Adams again adduces the argument, that he could not have forged the assignment, for the reason that he could have had no *motive* for it. With those that know the facts there is no absence of motive. Admitting the paper, which he has filed in the suit to be genuine, it is clear that *it* cannot answer the purpose for which he designs it. Hence his motive for making one that he supposed would answer, is obvious.—His making the date too old is also easily enough accounted for. The records were not in his hands, and then there being some considerable talk upon this particular subject, he knew he could not examine the records to ascertain the precise dates without subjecting himself to sus-

picion; and hence he concluded to try it by guess, and as it turned out, missed it a little. About Miller's deposition, I have a word to say. In the first place, Miller's answer to the first question shows upon its face, that he had been tampered with, and the answer dictated to him. He was asked if he knew Joel Wright and James Adams; and above three-fourths of his answer consists of what he knew about Joseph Anderson, a man about whom nothing had been asked, nor a word said in the question—a fact that can only be accounted for upon the supposition, that Adams had secretly told him what he wished him to swear to.

Another of Miller's answers I will prove both by common sense and the Court of Record is untrue. To one question he answers, "Anderson brought a suit against me before James Adams, then an acting Justice of the Peace in Sangamon County, before whom he obtained a judgment.

Q.—Did you *remove* the same by injunction to the Sangamon Circuit Court? Ans.—I did remove it. Now mark—it is said he *removed* it by *injunction.* The word "*injunction*" in common language imports a command that some person or thing shall not *move* or be *removed;* in law it has the same meaning. An injunction issuing out of Chancery to a Justice of the Peace, is a command to him to stop all proceedings in a named case until further orders. It is not an order to *remove* but to *stop* or stay something that is already *moving.* Besides this, the records of the Sangamon Circuit Court show, that the judgment of which Miller swore was never removed into said Court by injunction or otherwise.

I have now to take notice of a part of Adams's address which in the order of time should have been noticed before. It is in these words, "I have now shown, in the opinion of two competent judges, that the handwriting of the forged assignment differed from mine, *and by one of them that it could not be mistaken for mine.*" That is false. Tinsley no doubt is the judge referred to; and by reference to his certificate it will be seen that he did not say the handwriting of the assignment could not be mistaken for Adams's—nor did he use any other expression substantially, or anything near substantially the same. But if Tinsley had said the handwriting could not be mistaken for Adams's, it would have been equally unfortunate for Adams: for it then would have contradicted Keys, who says, "I looked at the writing and judged it the said Adams's or a good imitation."

Adams speaks with much apparent confidence of his success on attending law suits, and the ultimate maintenance of his title to the land in question. Without wishing to disturb the pleasure of his dream, I would say to him that it is not impossible, that he may yet be taught to sing a different song in relation to the matter.

At the end of Miller's deposition, Adams asks, "Will Mr. Lincoln *now* say that he is almost convinced my title to this ten acre

tract of land is founded in fraud?" I answer, I will not. I will *now* change the phraseology so as to make it run—I am *quite* convinced, &c. I cannot pass in silence Adams's assertion that he has proved that the forged assignment was not in the deed when it came from his house by *Talbott,* the Recorder. In this, although Talbott has sworn that the assignment was in the bundle of deed when it came from his house, Adams has the unaccountable assurance to say that he has proved the contrary by Talbott. Let him or his friends attempt to show, wherein he proved any such thing by Talbott.

In his publication of the 6th of September he *hinted* to Talbott, that *he might be mistaken.* In his present, speaking of Talbott and me he says "*They may have been imposed upon.*" Can any man of the least penetration fail to see the object of this? After he has stormed and raged till he hopes and imagines he has got us a little scared he wishes to softly whisper in our ears, "If you'll quit I will." If he could get us to say, that some unknown, undefined being had slipped the assignment into our hands without our knowledge, not a doubt remains but that he would immediately discover, that we were the purest men on earth. This is the ground he evidently wishes us to understand he is willing to compromise upon. But we ask no such charity at his hands. We are neither *mistaken* nor *imposed upon.* We have made the statements we have, because we know them to be true and we choose to live or die by them.

Esq. Carter, who is Adams's friend, personal and political, will recollect, that, on the 5th of this month, he, (Adams) with a great affectation of modesty, declared that he would never introduce his own child as a witness. Notwithstanding this affectation of modesty, he has in his present publication introduced his child as witness; and as if to show with how much contempt he could treat his own declaration, he has had this same Esq. Carter to administer the oath to him. And so important a witness does he consider him, and so entirely does the whole of his entire present production depend upon the testimony of his child, that in it he has mentioned "my son," "my son Lucian," "Lucian, my son," and the like expressions no less than fifteen different times. Let it be remembered here, that I have shown the affidavit of "my darling son Lucian" to be false by the evidence apparent on its own face; and I now ask if that affidavit be taken away what foundation will the fabric have left to stand upon?

General Adams's publications and out-door maneuvring taken in connection with the editorial articles of the "Republican," are not more foolish and contradictory than they are ludicrous and amusing. One week the "Republican" notifies the public that Gen. Adams is preparing an *instrument* that will tear, rend, split, rive, blow up, confound, overwhelm, annihilate, extinguish, exterminate, burst asunder, and grind to powder all its slanderers, and particularly Talbott and Lincoln—all of which is to be done *in due time.*

Then for two or three weeks all is calm—not a word said. Again the "Republican" comes forth with a mere passing remark that "Public opinion has decided in favor of Gen. Adams," and intimates that he will give himself no more trouble about the matter. In the meantime Adams himself is prowling about, and as Burns says of the Devil, "For prey, a' holes and corners tryin'," and in one instance, goes so far as to take an old acquaintance of mine several steps from a crowd and apparently weighed down with the importance of his business, gravely and solemnly asks him if *"he ever heard Lincoln say he was a deist."* Anon the "Republican" comes again, "We invite the attention of the public to General Adams's communication," &c., "The victory is a great one," "The triumph is overwhelming." (I really believe the editor of the Illinois "Republican" is fool enough to think General Adams is an honest man.) Then Gen. Adams leads off—"*Authors most egregiously mistaken,*" &c.,——"*most wofully shall their presumption be punished,*" &c. (Lord, have mercy on us.) "*The hour is yet to come, yea nigh at hand*—(how long first do you reckon?) —*when the 'Journal' and its junto shall say, I have appeared too early.*"—"*Then infamy shall be laid bare to the public gaze.*" Suddenly the Gen. appears to relent at the severity with which he is treating us and he exclaims, "*The condemnation of my enemies is the inevitable result of my own defense.*" For your health's sake dear Gen., do not permit your tenderness of heart to afflict you so much on our account. For some reason (perhaps because we are killed so quickly) we shall never be sensible of our suffering.

Farewell, General. I will see you again at Court, if not before—when and where we will settle the question whether you or the widow shall have the land. A. LINCOLN.

October 18, 1837.

SPEECH BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN BEFORE THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE IN JANUARY, 1837.

In the House of Representatives, upon the resolution offered by Mr. Linder, to institute an enquiry into the management of the affairs of the State Bank.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Lest I should fall into the too common error, of being mistaken in regard to which side I design to be upon, I shall make it my first care to remove all doubt on that point, by declaring that I am opposed to the resolution under consideration, in toto. Before I proceed to the body of the subject, I will further remark, that it is not without a considerable degree of apprehension, that I venture to cross the track of the gentleman from Coles (Mr. Linder). Indeed, I do not believe I could muster a sufficiency of courage to come in contact with that gentleman, were it not for the fact, that he, some days since, most graciously condescended to assure us that he would never be found wasting am-

munition on *small game*. On the same fortunate occasion, he further gave us to understand, that he regarded *himself* as being decidedly the *superior* of our common friend from Randolph (Mr. Shields); and feeling, as I really do, that I, to say the most of myself, am nothing more than the peer of our friend from Randolph, I shall regard the gentleman from Coles as decidedly my superior also, and consequently, in the course of what I shall have to say, whenever I shall have occasion to allude to that gentleman, I shall endeavor to adopt that kind of court language which I understand to be due to decided superiority. In one faculty, at least, there can be no dispute of the gentleman's superiority over me, and most other men; and that is, the faculty of entangling a subject, so that neither himself, or any other man, can find head or tail to it. Here he has introduced a resolution, embracing ninety-nine printed lines across common writing paper, and yet more than one-half of his opening speech has been made upon subjects about which there is not one word said in his resolution.

Though his resolution embraces nothing in regard to the constitutionality of the Bank, much of what he has said has been with a view to make the impression that it was unconstitutional in its inception. Now, although I am satisfied that an ample field may be found within the pale of the resolution, at least for small game, yet as the gentleman has travelled out of it, I feel that I may, with all due humility, venture to follow him. The gentleman has discovered that some gentleman at Washington city has been upon the very eve of deciding our Bank unconstitutional, and that he would probably have completed his very authentic decision, had not some one of the Bank officers placed his hand upon his mouth, and begged him to withhold it. The fact that the individuals composing our Supreme Court, have, in an official capacity, decided in favor of the constitutionality of the Bank, would, in my mind, seem a sufficient answer to this. It is a fact known to all, that the members of the Supreme Court, together with the Governor, form a Council of Revision, and that this Council approved this Bank Charter. I ask, then, if the extra-judicial decision—not quite, but almost made, by the gentleman at Washington, before whom, by the way, the question of the constitutionality of our Bank never has, nor never can come—is to be taken as paramount to a decision officially made by that tribunal, by which and which alone, the constitutionality of the Bank can never be settled? But aside from this view of the subject, I would ask, if the committee which this resolution proposes to appoint, are to examine into the constitutionality of the Bank? Are they to be clothed with power to send for persons and papers, for this object? And after they have found the Bank to be unconstitutional, and decided it so, how are they to enforce their decision? What will their decision amount to? They cannot compel the Bank to cease operations, or to change the course of its

operations. What good, then, can their labors result in? Certainly none.

The gentleman asks, if we, without an examination, shall, by giving the State deposits to the Bank, and by taking the stock reserved for the State, legalize its former misconduct? Now I do not pretend to possess sufficient legal knowledge to decide, whether a legislative enactment, proposing to, and accepting from, the Bank, certain terms, which would have the effect to legalize or wipe out its former errors, or not; but I can assure the gentleman, if such should be the effect, he has already got behind the settlement of accounts; for it is well known to all, that the Legislature, at its last session, passed a supplemental Bank charter, which the Bank has since accepted, and which, according to his doctrine, has legalized all the alleged violations of its original charter in the distribution of its stock.

I now proceed to the resolution. By examination it will be found that the first thirty-three lines, being precisely one-third of the whole, relate exclusively to the distribution of the stock by the commissioners appointed by the State. Now, Sir, it is clear that no question can arise on this portion of the resolution, except a question between capitalists in regard to the ownership of stock. Some gentlemen have their stock in their hands, while others, who have more money, than they know what to do with, want it; and this, and this alone, is the question, to settle which we are called on to squander thousands of the people's money. What interest, let me ask, have the people in the settlement of this question? What difference is it to them whether the stock is owned by Judge Smith or Sam Wiggins? If any gentleman be entitled to stock in the Bank, which he is kept out of possession of by others, let him assert his right in the Supreme Court, and let him or his antagonist, whichever may be found in the wrong, pay the costs of suit. It is an old maxim and a very sound one, that he that dances should always pay the fiddler Now, Sir, in the present case, if any gentlemen, whose money is a burden to them, choose to lead off a dance, I am decidedly opposed to the people's money being used to pay the fiddler. No one can doubt that the examination proposed by this resolution, must cost the State some ten or twelve thousand dollars; and all this to settle a question in which the people have no interest, and about which they care nothing. These capitalists generally act harmoniously and in concert, to fleece the people, and now, that they have got into a quarrel with themselves, we are called upon to appropriate the people's money to settle the quarrel.

I leave this part of the resolution and proceed to the remainder. It will be found that no charge in the remaining part of the resolution, if true, amounts to the violation of the Bank charter, except one, which I will notice in due time. It might seem quite sufficient to say no more upon any of these charges or insinuations, than enough to show they are not violations of the charter;

yet, as they are ingeniously framed and handled, with a view to deceive and mislead, I will notice in their order, all the most prominent of them. The first of these is in relation to a connection between our Bank and several Banking institutions in other States. Admitting this connection to exist, I should like to see the gentleman from Coles, or any other gentleman, undertake to show that there is any harm in it. What can there be in such a connection, that the people of Illinois are willing to pay their money to get a peep into? By a reference to the tenth section of the Bank charter, any gentleman can see that the framers of the act contemplated the holding of stock in the institutions of other corporations. Why, then, is it, when neither law nor justice forbids it, that we are asked to spend out time and money, in inquiring into its truth?

The next charge, in the order of time, is, that some officer, director, clerk or servant of the Bank, has been required to take an oath of secrecy in relation to the affairs of said Bank. Now, I do not know whether this be true or false—neither do I believe any honest man cares. I know that the seventh section of the charter expressly guarantees to the Bank the right of making, under certain restrictions, such by-laws as it may think fit; and I further know that the requiring an oath of secrecy would not transcend those restrictions. What, then, if the Bank has chosen to exercise this right? Who can it injure? Does not every merchant have his secret mark? and who is ever silly enough to complain of it? I presume if the Bank does require any such oath of secrecy, it is done through a motive of delicacy to those individuals who deal with it. Why, sir, not many days since, one gentleman upon this floor, who, by the way I have no doubt is now ready to join this hue and cry against the Bank, indulged in a phillippic against one of the Bank officials, because, as he said, he had *divulged a secret.*

Immediately following this last charge, there are several insinuations in the resolution, which are too silly to require any sort of notice, were it not for the fact, that they conclude by saying, "*to the great injury of the people at large.*" In answer to this I would say that it is strange enough, that the people are suffering these "great injuries," and yet are not sensible of it! Singular indeed that the people should be writhing under oppression and injury, and yet not one among them to be found, to raise the voice of complaint. If the Bank be inflicting injury upon the people, why is it, that not a single petition is presented to this body on the subject? If the Bank really be a grievance, why is it, that no one of the real people is found to ask redress of it? The truth is, no such oppression exists. If it did, our people would groan with memorials and petitions, and we would not be permitted to rest day or night, till we had put it down The people know their rights, and they are never slow to assert and maintain them, when they are invaded. Let them call for an

investigation, and I shall ever stand ready to respond to the call. But they have made no such call. I make the assertion boldly, and without fear of contradiction, that no man, who does not hold an office, or does not aspire to one, has ever found any fault of the Bank. It has doubled the prices of the products of their farms, and filled their pockets with a sound circulating medium, and they are all well pleased with its operations. No, Sir, it is the politician who is the first to sound the alarm, (which, by the way, is a false one.) It is he, who, by these unholy means, is endeavoring to blow up a storm that he may ride upon and direct. It is he, and he alone, that here proposes to spend thousands of the people's public treasure, for no other advantage to them, than to make valueless in their pockets the reward of their industry. Mr. Chairman, this work is exclusively the work of politicians; a set of men who have interests aside from the interests of the people, and who, to say the most of them, are, taken as a mass, at least one long step removed from honest men. I say this with the greater freedom, because, being a politician myself, none can regard it as personal.

Again, it is charged, or rather insinuated, that officers of the Bank have loaned money at usurious rates of interest. Suppose this to be true, are we to send a committee of this House to enquire into it? Suppose the committee should find it true, can they redress the injured individuals? Assuredly not. If any individual had been injured in this way, is there not an ample remedy to be found in the laws of the land? Does the gentleman from Coles know, that there is a statute standing in full force, making it highly penal, for an individual to loan money at a higher rate of interest than twelve per cent? If he does not he is too ignorant to be placed at the head of the committee which his resolution proposes; and if he does, his neglect to mention it, shows him to be too uncandid to merit the respect or confidence of any one.

But besides all this, if the Bank were struck from existence, could not the owners of the capital still loan it usuriously, as well as now? Whatever the Bank, or its officers, may have done, I know that usurious transactions were much more frequent and enormous, before the commencement of its operations, than they have ever been since.

The next insinuation is, that the Bank has refused specie payments. This, if true, is a violation of the charter. But there is not the least probability of its truth; because, if such had been the fact, the individual to whom payment was refused, would have had an interest in making it public, by suing for the damages to which the charter entitles him. Yet no such thing has been done; and the strong presumption is, that the insinuation is false and groundless.

From this to the end of the resolution, there is nothing that merits attention—I therefore drop the particular examination of it.

By a general view of the resolution, it will be seen that a principal object of the committee is, to examine into, and ferret out, a mass of corruption, supposed to have been committed by the commissioners who apportioned the stock of the Bank. I believe it is universally understood and acknowledged, that all men will ever act correctly, unless they have a motive to do otherwise. If this be true, we can only suppose that the commissioners acted corruptly, by also supposing that they were bribed to do so. Taking this view of the subject, I would ask if the Bank is likely to find it more difficult to bribe the committee of seven, which we are about to appoint, than it may have found it to bribe the commissioners?

(Here Mr. Linder called to order. The Chair decided that Mr. Lincoln was not out of order. Mr. Linder appealed to the House; —but before the question was put, withdrew his appeal, saying, he preferred to let the gentleman go on; he thought he would break his own neck. Mr. Lincoln proceeded)—

Another *gracious condescension,* I acknowledge it with gratitude. I know I was not out of order; and I know every sensible man in the House knows it. I was not saying that the gentleman from Coles could not (?) be bribed, nor, on the other hand, will I say he could not. In that particular I leave him where I found him. I was only endeavoring to show that there was at least as great a probability of *any* seven members that could be selected from this House, being bribed to act corruptly, as there was, that the twenty-four commissioners had been so bribed. By a reference to the ninth section of the Bank charter, it will be seen that those commissioners were John Tilson, Robert K. McLaughlin, Daniel Wann, A. G. S. Wight, John C. Riley, W. H. Davidson, Edward M. Wilson, Edward L. Pierson, Robert R. Green, Ezra Baker, Aquilla Wren, John Taylor, Samuel C. Christy, Edmund Roberts, Benjamin Godfrey, Thomas Mather, A. M. Jenkins, W. Linn, W. S. Gilman, Charles Prentice, Richard I. Hamilton, A. H. Buckner, W. F. Thornton, and Edmund D. Taylor.

These are twenty-four of the most respectable men in the State. Probably no twenty-four men could be selected in the State, with whom the people are better acquainted, or in whose honor and integrity, they would more readily place confidence. And I now repeat, that there is less probability that those men have been bribed and corrupted, than that *any* seven men, or rather any *six* men, that could be selected from the members of this House, might be so bribed and corrupted; even though they were headed and led on by "decided superiority" himself.

In all seriousness, I ask every reasonable man, if an issue be joined by these twenty-four commissioners, on the one part, and *any* other seven men, on the other part, and the whole depend upon the honor and integrity of the contending parties, to which party would the greatest degree of credit be due? Again: Another consideration is, that we have no right to make the exam-

ination. What I shall say upon this head, I design exclusively for the law-loving and law-abiding part of the House. To those who claim omnipotence for the Legislature, and who in the plenitude of their assumed powers, are disposed to disregard the Constitution, law, good faith, moral right, and every thing else, I have not a word to say. But to the law-abiding part I say, examine the Bank charter, go examine the Constitution; go examine the acts that the General Assembly of this State has passed, and you will find just as much authority given in each and every of them, to compel the Bank to bring its coffers to this hall, and to pour their contents upon this floor, as to compel it to submit to this examination which this resolution proposes. Why, sir, the gentleman from Coles, the mover of this resolution, very lately denied on this floor, that the Legislature had any right to repeal, or otherwise meddle with its own acts, when those acts were made in the nature of contracts, and had been accepted and acted on by other parties. Now I ask, if this resolution does not propose, for this House alone, to do, what he, but the other day, denied the right of the whole Legislature to do? He must either abandon the position he then took, or he must now vote against his own resolution. It is no difference to me, and I presume but little to any one else, which he does.

I am by no means the special advocate of the Bank. I have long thought that it would be well for it to report its condition to the General Assembly, and that cases might occur, when it might be proper to make an examination of its affairs by a committee. Accordingly, during the last session, while a bill supplemental to the Bank charter, was pending before the House, I offered an amendment to the same, in these words: "The said corporation shall, at the next session of the General Assembly, and at each subsequent General Session, during the existence of its charter, report to the same the amount of debts due *from* said corporation; the amount of debts due *to* the same; the amount of specie in its vaults, and an account of all lands then owned by the same, and the amount for which such lands have been taken; and moreover, if said corporation shall at any time neglect or refuse to submit its books, papers, and all and every thing necessary, for a full and fair examination of its affairs, to any person or persons appointed by the General Assembly, for the purpose of making such examination, the said corporation shall forfeit its charter."

This amendment was negatived by a vote of 34 to 15. Eleven of the 34 who voted against it, are now members of this House; and though it would be out of order to call their names, I hope they will all recollect themselves, and not vote for this examination to be made without authority, inasmuch as they refused to receive the authority when it was in their power to do so.

I have said that cases might occur, when an examination might be proper; but I do not believe any such case has now occurred; and if it has, I should still be opposed to making an examination

without legal authority. I am opposed to encouraging that lawless and mobocratic spirit, whether in relation to the Bank or any thing else, which is already abroad in the land; and is spreading with rapid and fearful impetuosity, to the ultimate overthrow of every institution, of even moral principle, in which persons and property have hitherto found security.

But supposing we had the authority, I would ask what good can result from the examination? Can we declare the Bank unconstitutional, and compel it to desist from the abuses of its power, provided we find such abuses to exist? Can we repair the injuries which it may have done to individuals? Most certainly we can do none of these things. Why then shall we spend the public money in such employment? O, say the examiners, we can injure the credit of the Bank, if nothing else.— Please tell me, gentlemen, who will suffer most by that? You cannot injure, to any extent, the stockholders. They are men of wealth—of large capital; and consequently, beyond the power of malice. But by injuring the credit of the Bank, you will depreciate the value of its paper in the hands of the honest and unsuspecting farmer and mechanic, and that is all you can do. But suppose you could affect your whole purpose; suppose you could wipe the Bank from existence, which is the grand *ultimatum* of the project, what would be the consequence? Why, sir, we should spend several thousand dollars of the public treasure in the operation, annihilate the currency of the State; render valueless in the hands of our people that reward of their former labors; and finally, be once more under the comfortable obligation of paying the Wiggins' loan, principal and interest.

(The foregoing speech is found in the Sangamo "Journal" of January 28, 1837. It was copied by the "Journal" from the Vandalia "Free Press.")

SPRINGFIELD, June 11th, 1839.

DEAR ROW:—

Mr. Redman informs me that you wish me to write you the particulars of a conversation between Dr. Felix and myself relative to you. The Dr. overtook me between Rushville and Beardstown. He, after learning that I had lived at Springfield, asked if I was acquainted with you. I told him I was. He said you had lately been elected constable in Adams, but that you never would be again. I asked him why? He said the people there, had found out that you had been Sheriff or Deputy Sheriff in Sangamon County, and that you came off and left your securities to suffer. He then asked me if I did not know such to be the fact. I told him I did not think you had ever been Sheriff or Deputy Sheriff in Sangamon; but that I thought you had been constable. I further told him that if you had left your securities to suffer in that or any other case, I had never heard of it, and that if it had been so, I thought I would have heard of it.

If the Dr. is telling that I told him anything against you whatever, I authorize you to contradict it flatly. We have no news here.

Your friend, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Feby. 16, 1842.

G. B. SHELEDY, ESQR.:

Yours of the 10th is duly received. Judge Logan and myself are doing business together now, and we are willing to attend to your cases as you propose—As to the terms, we are willing to attend each case you prepare and send us for $10 (when there shall be no opposition) to be sent in advance, or you to know that it is safe— It takes $5.75 of cost to start upon, that is, $1.75 to clerk, and $2 to each of two publishers of papers— Judge Logan thinks it will take the balance of $20 to carry a case through— This must be advanced from time to time as the services are performed, as the officers will not act without — I do not know whether you can be admitted an attorney of the Federal court in your absence or not; nor is it material, as the business can be done in our names.

Thinking it may aid you a little, I send you one of our blank forms of Petitions— It, you will see, is framed to be sworn to before the Federal court clerk, and, in your cases, will have (to) be so far changed, as to be sworn to before the clerk of your circuit court; and his certificate must be accompanied with his official seal— The schedules too, must be attended to— Be sure that they contain the *creditors* names, their *residences*, the *amounts* due each, the *debtors* names, their residences, and the amounts they owe, also all property and where located.

Also be sure that the schedules are signed by the applicants as well as the Petition.

Publication will have to be made here in one paper, and in one nearest the residence of the applicant. Write us in each case where the last advertisement is to be sent, whether to you or to what paper.

I believe I have now said everything that can be of any advantage. Your friend, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Historical Dep't of Iowa, loaned by the Hon. Charles Aldrich, curator, Des Moines, Iowa.)

February 22, 1842.

TO GEORGE E. PICKETT.

. . . . . .

I never encourage deceit, and falsehood, especially if you have got a bad memory, is the *worst* enemy a fellow can have. The fact is truth is your truest friend, no matter what the circum-

stances are. Notwithstanding this copy-book preamble, my boy, I am inclined to suggest a *little prudence* on your part. You see I have a congenital aversion to failure, and the sudden announcement to your Uncle Andrew of the success of your "lamp-rubbing" might possibly prevent your passing the severe *physical* examination to which you will be subjected in order to enter the Military Academy. You see, I should like to have a perfect soldier credited to dear old Illinois—no broken bones, scalp wounds, etc. So I think perhaps it might be wise to hand this letter from me, in to your good uncle through his room-window *after* he has had a *comfortable dinner,* and watch its effect from the top of the pigeon-house.

. . . . . .

I have just told the folks here in Springfield on this 111th anniversary of the birth of him whose name, mightiest in the cause of civil liberty, still mightiest in the cause of moral reformation, we mention in solemn awe, in naked, deathless splendor, that the one victory we can ever call complete will be that one which proclaims that there is not one slave or one drunkard on the face of God's green earth. Recruit for this victory.

. . . . . .

Now, boy, on your march, don't you go and forget the old maxim that "one drop of honey catches more flies than a half-gallon of gall." Load your musket with this maxim, and smoke it in your pipe.

(Original owned by Lasalle Corbell Pickett. Extracts published in "Pickett & His Men.")

SPRINGFIELD, August 15, 1842.

FRIEND WALKER:

Enclosed you have an order of court allowing your assignee to sell your property on a credit. Nothing is said in it about allowing your creditors pay for what they may purchase without money. We however, think this a matter of no consequence; as it will be a matter of course to take their *bonds* and security, as of other purchasers, and then, in the final settlement, to set off their dividends against those bonds in whole or as far as they will go.

Yours, &c.,
LOGAN & LINCOLN.

(Original owned by J. H. Franklin, Lacon, Ill.)

John Bennett.

SPRINGFIELD, March 7, 1843.

FRIEND BENNETT:

Your letter of this day was handed me by Mr. Miles— It is too late now to effect the object you desire—On yesterday morning the most of the whig members from this District got together and

agreed to hold the convention at Tremont in Tazewell County— I am sorry to hear that any of the whigs of your County, or indeed of any County, should longer be against conventions.— On last Wednesday evening a meeting of all the whigs then here from all parts of the state was held, and the question of the propriety of conventions was brought up and fully discussed, and at the end of the discussion a resolution recommending the system of conventions to all the whigs of the state was unanimously adopted—Other resolutions were also passed, all of which will appear in the next Journal. The meeting also appointed a committee to draft an address to the people of the state, which address will also appear in the next Journal.

In it you will find a brief argument in favor of conventions—and although I wrote it myself I will say to you that it is conclusive upon the point and can not be reasonably answered. The right way for you to do is hold your meeting and appoint delegates any how, and if there be any who will not take part, let it be so.— The matter will work so well this time that even they who now oppose will come in next time.

The convention is to be held at Tremont on the 5th of April and according to the rule we have adopted your County is to have delegates—being double the number of your representation—

If there be any good whig who is disposed to stick out against conventions get him at least to read the argument in their favor in the address.

Yours as ever.

(Original owned by E. B. Oeltjen, Petersburg, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, May 11th, 1843.

FRIEND HARDIN:

Butler informs me that he received a letter from you, in which you expressed some doubt whether the whigs of Sangamon will support you cordially— You may, at once, dismiss all fears on that subject— We have already resolved to make a particular effort to give you the very largest majority possible in our county— From this, no whig of the county dissents— We have many objects for doing it. We make it a matter of honor and pride to do it; we do it, because we love the whig cause; we do it, because we like you personally; and last, we wish to convince you, that we do not bear that hatred to Morgan county, that you people have so long seemed to imagine. You will see by the journal of this week, that we propose, upon pain of losing a Barbecue, to give you twice as great a majority in this county as you shall receive in your own. I got up the proposal.

Who of the five appointed, is to write the District address? I did the labor of writing one address this year; and got thunder for my reward. Nothing new here. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

P. S.—I wish you would measure one of the largest of those swords, we took to Alton, and write me the length of it, from tip of the point to tip of the hilt, in feet and inches, I have a dispute about the length. A. L.

(Original owned by Ellen Hardin Walworth, New York City.)

This memorandum witnesseth that Charles Dresser and Abraham Lincoln of Springfield, Illinois, have contracted with each other as follows:

The said Dresser is to convey to or procure to be conveyed to said Lincoln, by a clear title in fee simple, the entire premises (ground and improvements) in Springfield, on which said Dresser now resides, and give him possession of said premises, on or before the first day of April next—for which said Lincoln, at or before the same day, is to pay to said Dresser twelve hundred dollars, or what said Dresser shall then at his option, accept as equivalent thereto; and also to procure to be conveyed to said Dresser, by a clear title in fee simple, the entire premises (ground and building) in Springfield, on the block immediately West of the Public square, the building on which is now occupied by H. A. Hough as a shop, being the same premises some time since conveyed by N. W. Edwards and wife to said Lincoln and Stephen T. Logan—Said Dresser takes upon himself to arrange with said Hough for the possession of said shop and premises.

CHARLES DRESSER.
A. LINCOLN.

Jan'y 16, 1844.
(Signed duplicates.)

(Original on file in Springfield, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, May 21, 1844.

DEAR HARDIN:

Knowing that you have correspondents enough, I have forborne to trouble you heretofore; and I now only do so, to get you to set a matter right which has got wrong with one of our best friends. It is old uncle Thomas Campbell of Spring Creek— (Berlin P. O.) He has received several documents from you, and he says they are old newspapers and documents, having no sort of interest in them. He is, therefore, getting a strong impression that you treat him with disrespect. This, I know, is a mistaken impression; and you must correct it. The way, I leave to yourself. Rob't W. Canfield, says he would like to have a document or two from you.

The Locos here are in considerable trouble about Van Buren's letter on Texas, and the Virginia electors. They are growing sick of the Tariff question; and consequently are much confounded at V. B.'s cutting them off from the new Texas question. Nearly half the leaders swear they wont stand it. Of those are Ford, T.

Campbell, Ewing, Calhoun and others. They don't exactly say they won't vote for V. B., but they say he will not be the candidate, and that *they* are for Texas anyhow. As ever yours,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Ellen Hardin Walworth, New York City.)

To General John J. Hardin.

SPRINGFIELD, January 19, 1845.

DEAR GENERAL:

I do not wish to join in your proposal of a new plan for the selection of a whig candidate for Congress, because—

1st. I am entirely satisfied with the old system under which you and Baker were successively nominated and elected to Congress; and because the Whigs of the District are well acquainted with the system, and so far as I know or believe, are well satisfied with it. If the old system be thought to be vague, as to all the delegates of the county voting the same way; or as to instructions to them as to whom they are to vote for; or as to filling vacancies,—I am willing to join in a provision to make these matters certain.

2nd. As to your proposals that a poll shall be opened in *every* precinct, and that the whole shall take place on the *same* day, I do not personally object. They seem to me to be not unfair; and I forbear to join in proposing them, only because I choose to leave the decision in each county to the Whigs of the county, to be made as their own judgment and convenience may dictate.

3rd. As to your proposed stipulation that all the candidates shall remain in their own counties, and restrain their friends in the same—it seems to me that on reflection you will see, the fact of your having been in Congress has, in various ways, so spread your name in the District, as to give you a decided advantage in such a stipulation. I appreciate your desire to keep down excitement; and I promise you 'keep cool' under all circumstances.

4th. I have already said I am satisfied with the old system under which such good men have triumphed, and that I desire no departure from its principles. But if there must be a departure from it, I shall insist upon a more accurate and just apportionment of delegates, or representative votes, to the constituent body, than exists by the old; and which you propose to retain in your new plan. If we take the entire population of the Counties as shown by the late census, we shall see by the old plan, and by your proposed new plan,—

Morgan county, with a population of 16541, has but..... 8 votes
While Sangamon with 18697—2156 greater, has but..... 8 votes
So Scott with 6553 has..... 4 votes
While Tazewell with 7615 has 1062 greater, has but..... 4 votes
So Mason with 3135 has..... 1 vote
While Logan with 3907, 772 greater, has but..... 1 vote

And so on in a less degree the matter runs through all the counties, being not only wrong in principle, but the advantage of it being all manifestly in your favor with one slight exception, in the comparison of two counties not here mentioned.

Again, if we take the whig votes of the counties as shown by the late Presidential election as a basis, the thing is still worse. Take a comparison of the same six counties—

Morgan with her 1443 whig votes has	8 votes
Sangamon with her 1837, 394 greater, only has	8 votes
Mason with her 255 has	1 vote
Logan with her 310, 55 greater, has only	1 vote
Scott with her 670 has	4 votes
Tazewell with her 1011, 341 greater, has only	4 votes

It seems to me most obvious that the old system needs adjustment in nothing so much as in this: and still, by your proposal, no notice is taken of it. I have always been in the habit of acceding to almost any proposal that a friend would make and I am truly sorry that I cannot in this. I perhaps ought to mention that some friends at different places are endeavoring to secure the honor of the sitting of the convention at their towns respectively, and I fear that they would not feel much complimented if we shall make a bargain that it should sit no where.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

(Copied from the Sangamo "Journal" for Feb. 26, 1846.)

Springfield, March 1, 1845.

Friend Williams:

The supreme court adjourned this morning for the term. Your cases of Reinhardt vs. Schuyler, Bunce vs. Schuyler, Dickhut vs. Dunell, and Sullivan vs. Andrews are continued. Hinman vs. Pope I wrote you concerning some time ago. McNutt et al. vs. Bean and Thompson is reversed and remanded.

Fitzpatrick vs. Brady et al. is reversed and remanded with leave to complainant to amend his bill so as to show the real consideration given for the land.

Bunce against Graves, the court confirmed, wherefore, in accordance with your directions, I moved to have the case remanded to enable you to take a new trial in the court below. The court allowed the motion; of which I am glad, and I guess you are.

This, I believe, is all as to court business. The canal men have got their measure through the legislature pretty much or quite in the shape they desired. Nothing else now. Yours, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by Mrs. A. J. Morton, Washington, D. C.)

Williamson Durley.

SPRINGFIELD, October 3, 1845.

When I saw you at home, it was agreed that I should write to you and your brother Madison. Until I then saw you I was not aware of your being what is generally called an Abolitionist, or, as you call yourself, a Liberty man, though I well knew there were many such in your country.

I was glad to hear that you intended to attempt to bring about, at the next election in Putnam, a union of the Whigs proper and such of the Liberty men as are Whigs in principle on all questions save only that of slavery. So far as I can perceive, by such union neither party need yield anything on *the* point in difference between them. If the Whig abolitionists of New York had voted with us last fall, Mr. Clay would now be President, Whig principles in the ascendant, and Texas not annexed; whereas, by the division, all that either had at stake in the contest was lost. And, indeed, it was extremely probable, beforehand, that such would be the result. As I always understood, the Liberty men deprecated the annexation of Texas extremely; and this being so, why they should refuse to cast their votes (so) as to prevent it, even to me seemed wonderful. What was their process of reasoning, I can only judge from what a single one of them told me. It was this: 'We are not to do evil that good may come.' This general proposition is doubtless correct; but did it apply? If by your votes you could have prevented the *extension,* etc., of slavery would it not have been *good,* and not *evil,* so to have used your votes, even though it involved the casting of them for a slave-holder. By the *fruit* the tree is to be known. An *evil* tree cannot bring forth *good* fruit. If the fruit of electing Mr. Clay would have been to prevent the extension of slavery, could the act of electing have been evil?

But I will not argue further. I perhaps ought to say that individually I never was much interested in the Texas question. I never could see much good to come of annexation, inasmuch as they were already a free republican people on our own model. On the other hand. I never could very clearly see how the annexation would augment the evil of slavery. It always seemed to me that slaves would be taken there in about equal numbers, with or without annexation. And if more *were* taken because of annexation, still there would be just so many the fewer left where they were taken from. It is possibly true, to some extent, that, with annexation, some slaves may be sent to Texas and continued in slavery that otherwise might have been liberated. To whatever extent this may be true, I think annexation an evil. I hold it to be a paramount duty of us in the free States, due to the Union of the States, and perhaps to liberty itself (paradox though it may seem), to let the slavery of the other States alone; while, on the other hand, I hold it to be equally clear that we should never knowingly lend ourselves, directly or indirectly, to prevent that

slavery from dying a natural death—to find new places for it to live in, when it can no longer exist in the old. Of course I am not now considering what would be our duty in cases of insurrection among the slaves. To recur to the Texas question, I understand the Liberty men to have viewed annexation as a much greater evil than ever I did; and I would like to convince you, if I could, that they could have prevented it, if they had chosen.

I intend this letter for you and Madison together; and if you and he or either shall think fit to drop me a line, I shall be pleased.

Yours with respect,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. W. Durley, Princeton, Illinois.)

Dr. Robert Boal, Lacon, Ill.

SPRINGFIELD, Jany. 7, 1846.

DEAR DOCTOR:

Since I saw you last fall, I have often thought of writing you, as it was then understood I would, but, on reflection, I have always found that I had nothing new to tell you. All has happened as I then told you I expected it would—Baker's declining, Hardin's taking the track, and so on.

If Hardin and I stood precisely equal, if *neither* of us had been to Congress, or, if we *both* had—it would not only accord with what I have always done, for the sake of peace, to give way to him; and I expect I should do it. That *I* can voluntarily postpone my pretentions, when they are no more than equal to those to which they are postponed, you have yourself seen. But to yield to Hardin under present circumstances, seems to me as nothing else than yielding to one who would gladly sacrifice me altogether. This, I would rather not submit to. That Hardin is talented, energetic, usually generous and magnanimous, I have, before this, affirmed to you, and do not now deny. You know that my only argument is that "turn about is fair play." This he practically at least, denies.

If it would not be taxing you too much, I wish you would write me, telling the aspect of things in your country, or rather your district; and also, send the names of some of your Whig neighbours, to whom I might, with propriety, write. Unless I can get some one to do this, Hardin, with his old franking list, will have the advantage of me. My reliance for a fair shake (and I want nothing more) in your county is chiefly on you, because of your position and standing, and because I am acquainted with so few others. Let me hear from you soon.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Dr. Robert Boal, Lacon, Illinois.)

John Bennett.

SPRINGFIELD, Jany 15, 1846.

FRIEND JOHN:

Nathan Dresser is here, and speaks as though the contest between Hardin and me is to be doubtful in Menard County—I know he is candid and this alarms me some—I asked him to tell me the names of the men that were going strong for Hardin; he said Morris was about as strong as any—Now tell me, is Morris going it openly? You remember you wrote me, that he would be neutral. Nathan also said that some man who he could not remember had said lately that Menard County was going to decide the contest and that that made the contest very doubtful. Do you know who that was? Don't fail to write me instantly on receiving telling me all—particularly the names of those who are going strong against me. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by E. R. Oeltjen, Petersburg, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, January 21, 1846.

N. J. ROCKWELL:

DEAR SIR: You perhaps know that General Hardin and I have a contest for the Whig nomination for Congress for this district. He has had a turn and my argument is "Turn about is fair play." I shall be pleased if this strikes you as a sufficient argument.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Jas. Berdan,
Jacksonville, Ill.

SPRINGFIELD, April 26, 1846.

JAS. BERDAN, ESQR.:

DEAR SIR: I thank you for the promptness with which you answered my letter from Bloomington. I also thank you for the frankness with which you comment upon a certain part of my letter; because that comment affords me an opportunity of trying to express myself better than I did before, seeing, as I do, that in that part of my letter, you have not understood me as I intended to be understood. In speaking of the "*dissatisfaction*" of men who yet mean to do no wrong, &c., I meant no special application of what I said to the Whigs of Morgan, or of Morgan & Scott. I only had in my mind the fact, that previous to General Hardin's withdrawal some of his friends and some of mine had become a little warm; and I felt, and meant to say, that for them now to meet face to face and converse together was the best way to efface any remnant of unpleasant feeling, if any such existed. I did not suppose that General Hardin's friends were in any

greater need of having their feelings corrected than mine were. Since I saw you at Jacksonville, I have had no more suspicion of the Whigs of Morgan than of those of any other part of the District. I write this only to try to remove any impression that I distrust you and the other Whigs of your country.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. Mary Berdan Tiffany, Springfield, Ill.)

James Berdan, Jacksonville, Ill.

SPRINGFIELD, May 7th, 1846.

JAS. BERDAN, ESQR.:

DEAR SIR: It is a matter of high moral obligation, if not of necessity, for me to attend the Coles and Edwards courts. I have some cases in both of them, in which the parties have my promise, and are depending upon me. The court commences in Coles on the second Monday, and in Edgar on the third. Your court in Morgan commences on the fourth Monday; and it is my purpose to be with you then, and make a speech. I mention the Coles and Edgar courts in order that if I should not reach Jacksonville at the time named you may understand the reason why. I do not, however, think there is much danger of my being detained; as I shall go with a purpose not to be, and consequently shall engage in no new cases that might delay me. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. Mary Berdan Tiffany, Springfield, Ill.)

REPORT OF SPEECH DELIVERED AT WORCESTER, MASS., ON SEPT. 12, 1848.

(From the Boston "Advertiser.")

Mr. Kellogg then introduced to the meeting the Hon. Abram Lincoln, whig member of Congress from Illinois, a representative of *free soil*.

Mr. Lincoln has a very tall and thin figure, with an intellectual face, showing a searching mind, and a cool judgment. He spoke in a clear and cool, and very eloquent manner, for an hour and a half, carrying the audience with him in his able arguments and brilliant illustrations—only interrupted by warm and frequent applause. He began by expressing a real feeling of modesty in addressing an audience "this side of the mountains," a part of the country where, in the opinion of the people of his section, everybody was supposed to be instructed and wise. But he had devoted his attention to the question of the coming presidential

election, and was not unwilling to exchange with all whom he might the ideas to which he had arrived. He then began to show the fallacy of some of the arguments against Gen. Taylor, making his chief theme the fashionable statement of all those who oppose him, ("the old Locofocos as well as the new") that he *has no principles,* and that the Whig party have abandoned their principles by adopting him as their candidate. He maintained that Gen. Taylor occupied a high and unexceptionable Whig ground, and took for his first instance and proof of this statement in the Allison letter—with regard to the Bank, Tariff, Rivers and Harbors, etc.—that the will of the people should produce its own results, without Executive influence. The principle that the people should do what—under the constitution—they please, is a Whig principle. All that Gen. Taylor is not only to consent, but to appeal to the people to judge and act for themselves. And this was no new doctrine for Whigs. It was the "platform" on which they had fought all their battles, the resistance of Executive influence, and the principle of enabling the people to frame the government according to their will. Gen. Taylor consents to be the candidate, and to assist the people to do what they think to be their duty, and think to be best in their natural affairs, but because *he don't want to tell what we ought to do,* he is accused of having no principles. The Whigs here maintained for years that neither the influence, the duress, or the prohibition of the Executive should control the legitimately expressed will of the people; and now that on that very ground, Gen. Taylor says that he should use the power given him by the people to do, to the best of his judgment, the will of the people, he is accused of want of principle, and of inconsistency in position.

Mr. Lincoln proceeded to examine the absurdity of an attempt to make a platform or creed for a national party, to *all* parts of which *all* must consent and agree, when it was clearly the intention and the true philosophy of our government, that in Congress all opinions and principles should be represented, and that when the wisdom of all had been compared and united, the will of the majority should be carried out. On this ground he conceived (and the audience seemed to go with him) that Gen. Taylor held correct, sound republican principles.

Mr. Lincoln then passed to the subject of slavery in the states, saying that the people of Illinois agreed entirely with the people of Massachusetts on this subject, except perhaps that they did not keep so constantly thinking about it. All agreed that slavery was an evil, but that we were not responsible for it and cannot affect it in states of this Union where we do not live. But, the question of the *extension* of slavery to new territories of this country, is a part of our responsibility and care, and is under our control. In opposition to this Mr. L. believed that the self-named "Free Soil" party, was far behind the Whigs. Both parties opposed the extension. As he understood it the new party

had no principle except this opposition. If their platform held any other, it was in such a general way that it was like the pair of pantaloons the Yankee pedlar offered for sale "large enough for any man, small enough for any boy." They therefore had taken a position calculated to break down their single important declared object. They were working for the election of either Gen. Cass or Gen. Taylor. The speaker then went on to show, clearly and eloquently, the danger of extension of slavery, likely to result from the election of General Cass. To unite with those who annexed the new territory to prevent the extension of slavery in that territory seemed to him to be in the highest degree absurd and ridiculous. Suppose these gentlemen succeed in electing Mr. Van Buren, they had no specific means to *prevent* the extension of slavery to New Mexico and California, and Gen. Taylor, he confidently believed, would not encourage it, and would not prohibit its restriction. But if Gen. Cass was elected, he felt certain that the plans of farther extension of territory would be encouraged, and those of the extension of slavery would meet no check. The "Free Soil" men in claiming that name indirectly attempts a deception, by implying that Whigs were *not* Free Soil men. In declaring that they would "do their duty and leave the consequences to God," merely gave an excuse for taking a course they were not able to maintain by a fair and full argument. To make this declaration did not show what their duty was. If it did we should have no use for judgment, we might as well be made without intellect, and when divine or human law does not clearly point out what *is* our duty, we have no means of finding out what it is by using our most intelligent judgment of the consequences. If there were divine law, or human law for voting for Martin Van Buren, or if a fair examination of the consequences and first reasoning would show that voting for him would bring about the ends they pretended to wish—then he would give up the argument. But since there was no fixed law on the subject, and since the whole probable result of their action would be an assistance in electing Gen. Cass, he must say that they were behind the Whigs in their advocacy of the freedom of the soil.

Mr. Lincoln proceeded to rally the Buffalo Convention for forbearing to say anything—after all the previous declarations of those members who were formerly Whigs—on the subject of the Mexican war, because the Van Burens had been known to have supported it. He declared that of all the parties asking the confidence of the country, this new one had *less* of principle than any other.

He wondered whether it was still the opinion of these Free Soil gentlemen as declared in the "whereas" at Buffalo, that the Whig and Democratic parties were both entirely dissolved and absorbed into their own body. Had the *Vermont election* given them any light? They had calculated on making as great an impression in that State as in any part of the Union, and there their attempts

had been wholly ineffectual. Their failure there was a greater success than they would find in any other part of the Union.

Mr. Lincoln went on to say that he honestly believed that all those who wished to keep up the character of the Union; who did not believe in enlarging our field, but in keeping our fences where they are and cultivating our present possessions, making it a garden, improving the morals and education of the people; devoting the administrations to this purpose; all real Whigs, friends of good honest government;—the race was ours. He had opportunities of hearing from almost every part of the Union from reliable sources and had not heard of a country in which we had not received accessions from other parties. If the true Whigs come forward and join these new friends, they need not have a doubt. We had a candidate whose personal character and principles he had already described, whom he could not eulogize if he would. Gen. Taylor had been constantly, perseveringly, quietly standing up, *doing his duty,* and asking no praise or reward for it. He was and must be just the man to whom the interests, principles and prosperity of the country might be safely intrusted. He had never failed in anything he had undertaken, although many of his duties had been considered almost impossible.

Mr. Lincoln then went into a terse though rapid review of the origin of the Mexican war and the connection of the administration and General Taylor with it, from which he deduced a strong appeal to the Whigs present to do their duty in the support of General Taylor, and closed with the warmest aspirations for and confidence in a deserved success.

At the close of this truly masterly and convincing speech, the audience gave three enthusiastic cheers for Illinois, and three more for the eloquent Whig member from that State.

J. Gillespie.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 19, 1849.

DEAR GILLESPIE:

Butterfield will be Commissioner of the Gen'l Land Office, unless prevented by strong and speedy efforts. Ewing is for him, and he is only not appointed yet because Old Zach. hangs fire. I have reliable information of this. Now, if you agree with me that his appointment would dissatisfy rather than gratify the Whigs of this State, that it would slacken their energies in future contests, that his appointment in '41 is an old sore with them which they will not patiently have reopened,—in a word that his appointment now would be a fatal blunder to the administration and our political men, here in Illinois, write Mr. Crittenden to that effect. He can control the matter. Were you to write Ewing I fear the President would never hear of your letter. This may be mere suspicion. You might directly to Old Zach. You will be the best judge of the propriety of that. Not a moment's time is to be lost.

Let this confidential except with Mr. Edwards and a few others whom you know I would trust just as I do you.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine G. Prickett, Edwardsville, Ill.)

Secretary of Interior, Washington, D. C.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., June 3, 1849.

HON. SECRETARY OF INTERIOR,

DEAR SIR: Vandalia, the Receiver's office at which place is the subject of the within, is not in my district; and I have been much perplexed to express any preference between Dr. Stapp and Mr. Remann. If any one man is better qualified for such an office than all others, Dr. Stapp is that man; still, I believe a large majority of the Whigs of the District prefer Mr. Remann, who also is a good man. Perhaps the papers on file will enable you to judge better than I can. The writers of the within are good men, residing within the Land District.

Your obt. servant,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

J. Gillespie.

SPRINGFIELD, July 13, 1849.

DEAR GILLESPIE:

Mr. Edwards is unquestionably offended with me in connection with the matter of the General Land Office. He wrote a letter against me which was filed at the Department.

The better part of one's life consists of his friendships; and, of them, mine with Mr. Edwards was one of the most cherished. I have not been false to it. At a word I could have had the office any time before the Department was committed to Mr. Butterfield,—at least Mr. Ewing and the President say as much. That word I forbore to speak, partly for other reasons, but chiefly for Mr. Edwards' sake,—losing the office that he might gain it, I was always for; but to lose his *friendship*, by the effort for him, would oppress me very much, were I not sustained by the utmost consciousness of rectitude. I first determined to be an applicant, unconditionally, on the 2nd of June; and I did so then upon being informed by a Telegraphic despatch that the question was narrowed down to Mr. B— and myself, and that the Cabinet had postponed the appointment, three weeks, for my benefit. Not doubting that Mr. Edwards was wholly out of the question I, nevertheless, would not then have become an applicant had I supposed he would thereby be brought to suspect me of treachery

to him. Two or three days afterwards a conversation with Levi Davis convinced me Mr. Edwards was dissatisfied; but I was then too far in to get out. His own letter, written on the 25th of April, after I had fully informed him of all that had passed, up to within a few days of that time, gave assurance I had that entire confidence from him, which I felt my uniform and strong friendship for him entitled me to. Among other things it says "whatever course your judgment may dictate as proper to be pursued, shall never be excepted to by me." I also had had a letter from Washington, saying Chambers, of the Republic, had brought a rumor then, that Mr. E— had declined in my favor, which rumor I judged came from Mr. E— himself, as I had not then breathed of his letter to any living creature. In saying I had never, before the 22nd of June, determined to be an applicant, *unconditionally,* I mean to admit that, before then, I had said substantially I would take the office rather than it should be lost to the State, or given to one in the State whom the Whigs did not want; but I aver that in every instance in which I spoke of myself, I intended to keep, and now believe I did keep, Mr. E— above myself. Mr. Edwards' first suspicion was that I had allowed Baker to overreach me, as his friend, in behalf of Don Morrison. I knew this was a mistake; and the result has proved it. I understand his view now is, that if I had gone to open war with Baker I could have ridden him down, and had the thing all my own way. I believe no such thing. With Baker and some strong man from the Military tract, & elsewhere for Morrison; and we and some strong man from the Wabash & elsewhere for Mr. E—, it was not possible for either to succeed. I *believed* this in March, and I *know* it now. The only thing which gave either any chance was the very thing Baker & I proposed,—an adjustment with themselves.

You may wish to know how Butterfield finally beat me. I can not tell you particulars, now, but will, when I see you. In the meantime let it be understood I am not greatly dissatisfied,— I wish the offer had been so bestowed as to encourage our friends in future contests, and I regret exceedingly Mr. Edwards' feelings towards me. These two things away, I should have no regrets,— at least I think I would not.

Write me soon.

Your friend, as ever,
A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine G. Prickett, Edwardsville, Ill.)

Springfield, Sept. 14, 1849.

Dr. William Fithian, Danville, Ill.

Dear Doctor: Your letter of the 9th was received a day or two ago. The notes and mortgages you enclosed me were duly

received. I also got the original Blanchard mortgage from Antrim Campbell, with whom Blanchard had left it for you. I got a decree of foreclosure on the whole; but owing to there being no redemption on the sale to be under the Blanchard mortgage, the court allowed Mobley till the first of March to pay the money, before advertising for sale. Stuart was empowered by Mobley to appear for him, and I had to take such decree as he would consent to, or none at all. I cast the matter about in my mind and concluded that as I could not get a decree now would put the accrued interest at interest, and thereby more than match the fact of throwing the Blanchard debt back from 12 to 6 per cent., it was better to do it. This is the present state of the case.

I can well enough understand and appreciate your suggestions about the Land Office at Danville; but in my present condition, I can do nothing.

Yours, as ever,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Dr. P. H. Fithian, Springfield, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, Jan. 11, 1851.

C. HOYT, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR: Our case is decided against us. The decision was announced this morning. Very sorry, but there is no help. The history of the case since it came here is this— On Friday morning last, Mr. Joy filed his papers, and entered his motion for a mandamus, and urged me to take up the motion as soon as possible. I already had the points, and authorities sent me, by you and by Mr. Goodrich but had not studied them— I began preparing as fast as possible.

The evening of the same day I was again urged to take up the case. I refused on the ground that I was not ready, and on which plea I also got off over Saturday. But on Monday (the 14th) I had to go into it. We occupied the whole day, I using the large part. I made every point and used every authority sent me by yourself and by Mr. Goodrich; and in addition all the points I could think of and all the authorities I could find myself. When I closed the argument on my part, a large package was handed me, which proved to be the Plat you sent me. The court received it of me, but it was not different from the Plat already on the record. I do not think I could ever have argued the case better than I did. I did nothing else, but prepare *to* argue and *argue* this case, from Friday morning till Monday evening. Very sorry for the result; but I do not think it could have been prevented.

Your friend as ever,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by family of Mr. Ned Ames Higgins, Washington, D. C.)

Nov. 4, 1851.

DEAR MOTHER:

Chapman tells me he wants you to go and live with him. If I were you I would try it awhile. If you get tired of it (as I think you will not) you can return to your own home. Chapman feels very kindly to you; and I have no doubt he will make your situation very pleasant. Sincerely your son,

A. LINCOLN.

(From Herndon's "Life of Lincoln.")

Addressed John D. Johnston, Charleston, Coles County, Illinois.

SPRINGFIELD, November 25, 1851.

JOHN D. JOHNSTON:

DEAR BROTHER: Your letter of the 22d is just received—Your proposal about selling the East forty acres of land is all that I want or could claim for *myself;* but I am not satisfied with it on *Mother's* account—I want her to have her living, and I feel that it is my duty, to some extent, to see that she is not wronged—She had a right of Dower (that is, the use of one-third for life) in the other two forties; but, it seems, she has already let you take that, hook and line—She now has the use of the whole of the East forty, as long as she lives; and if it be sold, of course she is entitled to the interest on *all* the money it brings, as long as she lives; but you propose to sell it for three hundred dollars, take one hundred away with you, and leave her two hundred at 8 per cent, making her the *enormous* sum of 16 dollars a year—Now, if you are satisfied with treating her in that way, I am not—It is true, that you are to have that forty for two hundred dollars, *at* Mother's death; but you are not to have it *before.* I am confident that land can be made to produce for Mother at least $30 a year, and I can not, to oblige any living person, consent that she shall be put on an allowance of sixteen dollars a year—

Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mr. William H. Lambert, Philadelphia, Pa.)

The superscription of the letter is as here printed—but the caption omits the town and state.

PEKIN, May 12, 1853.

MR. JOSHUA R. STANFORD:

SIR:—I hope the subject-matter of this letter will appear a sufficient apology to you for the liberty I, a total stranger, take in addressing you. The persons here holding two lots under a conveyance made by you, as the attorney of Daniel M. Baily, now nearly twenty-two years ago, are in great danger of losing the lots, and very much, perhaps all, is to depend on the testimony you give

as to whether you did or did not account to Baily for the proceeds received by you on this sale of the lots. I, therefore, as one of the counsel, beg of you to fully refresh your recollection by any means in your power before the time you may be called on to testify. If persons should come about you, and show a disposition to pump you on the subject, it may be no more than prudent to remember that it may be possible they design to misrepresent you and embarrass the real testimony you may ultimately give. It may be six months or a year before you are called on to testify.

Respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Homer Stanford, of Alton, Ill.)

(Confidential.)

SPRINGFIELD, Sept. 7, 1854.

HON. J. M. PALMER:

DEAR SIR: You know how anxious I am that this Nebraska measure shall be rebuked and condemned everywhere— Of course I hope something from your position; yet I do not expect you to do any thing which may be wrong in your own judgment; nor would I have you do anything personally injurious to yourself— You are, and always have been, *honestly,* and *sincerely,* a democrat; and I know how painful it must be to an honest sincere man, to be urged by his party to the support of a measure, which in his conscience he believes to be wrong— You have had a severe struggle with yourself, and you have determined *not* to swallow the *wrong*—Is it not just to yourself that you should, in a few public speeches, state your reasons, and thus justify yourself? I wish you would; and yet I say "don't do it, if you think it will injure you"— You may have given your word to vote for Major Harris; and if so, of course you will stick to it— But allow me to suggest that you should avoid speaking of this; for it probably would induce some of your friends, in like manner, to cast their votes— You understand— And now let me beg your pardon for obtruding this letter upon you, to whom I have ever been opposed in politics— Had your party omitted to make Nebraska a test of party fidelity; you probably would have been the Democratic candidate for congress in the district—You deserved it, and I believe it would have been given you— In that case I should have been quite happy that Nebraska was to be rebuked at all events— I still should have voted for the whig candidate; but I should have made no speeches, written no letters; and you would have been elected by at least a thousand majority—

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mr. William H. Lambert, Philadelphia, Pa.)

CLINTON, DE WITT CO., Nov. 10, 1854.

MR. CHARLES HOYT.

DEAR SIR: You used to express a good deal of partiality for me, and if you are still so, now is the time. Some friends here are really for me, for the U. S. Senate, and I should be very grateful if you could make a mark for me among your members. Please write me at all events giving me the names post-offices, and "*political position*" of members round about you. Direct to Springfield.

Let this be confidential. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. C. L. Hoyt of Aurora, Ill.)

(Copy)

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 1, 1854.

J. GILLESPIE, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR: I have really got it into my head to try to be United States Senator, and, if I could have your support, my chances would be reasonably good. But I know, and acknowledge, that you have as just claims to the place as I have; and therefore I cannot ask you to yield to me, if you are thinking of becoming a candidate, yourself. If, however, you are not, then I should like to be remembered affectionately by you; and also to have you make a mark for me with the Anti-Nebraska members, down your way.

If you know, and have no objection to tell, let me know whether Trumbull intends to make a push. If he does, I suppose the two men in St. Clair, and one, or both, in Madison, will be for him. We have the legislature, clearly enough, on joint ballot, but the Senate is very close, and Cullom told me to-day that the Nebraska men will stave off the election, if they can. Even if we get into joint vote, we shall have difficulty to unite our forces. Please write me, and let this be confidential. Your friend, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine Gillespie Prickett of Edwardsville, Ill.)

Sanford, Porter & Striker, New York City.

SPRINGFIELD, March 10th, 1855.

MESSRS. SANFORD, PORTER AND STRIKER, New York.

GENTLEMEN: Yours of the 5th is received, as also was that of 15th Dec. last, inclosing bond of Clift to Pray. When I received

the bond I was dabbling in politics, and of course neglecting business. Having since been beaten out I have gone to work again.

As I do not practice in Rushville I today open a correspondence with Henry E. Dummer, Esq. of Beardstown, Ills., with the view of getting the job into his hands. He is a good man if he will undertake it. Write me whether I shall do this or return the bond to you.

Very respectfully,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by the Skaneateles Library, Skaneateles, N. Y.)

Dec. 13, 1855.

DEAR SIR: You will confer a favor on me, if you will send me the Congressional "Globe" during the present session. Please have it directed to me.

I will pay for the same when you visit your family.

Yours respectfully,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original formerly owned by Col. Thomas Donaldson. Loaned by Stan. V. Henkels of Philade'phia, Pa.)

REPORT MADE BY WILLIAM C. WHITNEY OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN BEFORE THE FIRST REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION OF ILLINOIS HELD AT BLOOMINGTON ON MAY 29, 1856.

(Mr. Whitney's notes were made at the time but not written out until 1896. He does not claim that the speech, as here reported, is literally correct—only that he has followed the argument, and that in many cases the sentences are as Mr. Lincoln spoke them.)*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I was over at [cries of "Platform!" "Take the platform!"]—I say, that while I was at Danville Court, some of our friends of anti-Nebraska got together in Springfield and elected me as one delegate to represent old Sangamon with them in this convention, and I am here certainly as a sympathizer in this movement and by virtue of that meeting and selection. But we can hardly be called delegates strictly, inasmuch as, properly speaking, we represent nobody but ourselves. I think it altogether fair to say that we have no anti-Nebraska party in Sangamon, although there is a good deal of anti-Nebraska feeling there; but I say for myself, and I think I may speak also for my colleagues, that we who are here fully approve of the platform and of all that has been done [a voice; "Yes!"]; and even if we are not regularly delegates, it will be right for me to answer your call to speak. I suppose we truly stand for the public senti-

*Copyright, 1896, by Sarah A. Whitney.

ment of Sangamon on the great question of the repeal, although we do not yet represent many numbers who have taken a distinct position on the question.

We are in a trying time—it ranges above mere party—and this movement to call a halt and turn our steps backward needs all the help and good counsels it can get; for unless popular opinion makes itself very strongly felt, and a change is made in our present course, *blood will flow on account of Nebraska, and brother's hand will be raised against brother!* [The last sentence was uttered in such an earnest, impressive, if not, indeed, tragic, manner, as to make a cold chill creep over me. Others gave a similar experience.]

I have listened with great interest to the earnest appeal made to Illinois men by the gentleman from Lawrence [James S. Emery] who has just addressed us so eloquently and forcibly. I was deeply moved by his statement of the wrongs done to free-State men out there. I think it just to say that all true men North should sympathize with them, and ought to be willing to do any possible and needful thing to right their wrongs. But we must not promise what we ought not, lest we be called on to perform what we cannot; we must be calm and moderate, and consider the whole difficulty, and determine what is possible and just. We must not be led by excitement and passion to do that which our sober judgments would not approve in our cooler moments. We have higher aims; we will have more serious business than to dally with temporary measures.

We are here to stand firmly for a principle—to stand firmly for a right. We know that great political and moral wrongs are done, and outrages committed, and we denounce those wrongs and outrages, although we cannot, at present, do much more. But we desire to reach out beyond those personal outrages and establish a rule that will apply to all, and so prevent any future outrages.

We have seen to-day that every shade of popular opinion is represented here, with *Freedom* or rather *Free-Soil* as the basis. We have come together as in some sort representatives of popular opinion against the extension of slavery into territory now free in fact as well as by law, and the pledged word of the statesmen of the nation who are now no more. We come—we are here assembled together—to protest as well as we can against a great wrong, and to take measures, as well as we now can, to make that wrong right; to place the nation, as far as it may be possible now, as it was before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and the plain way to do this is to restore the Compromise, and to demand and determine that *Kansas shall be free!* [Immense applause.] While we affirm, and reaffirm, if necessary, our devotion to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, let our practical work here be limited to the above. We know that there is not a perfect agreement of sentiment here on the public questions which might be rightfully considered in this convention, and that the

indignation which we all must feel cannot be helped; but all of us must give up something for the good of the cause. There is one desire which is uppermost in the mind, one wish common to us all—to which no dissent will be made; and I counsel you earnestly to bury all resentment, to sink all personal feeling, make all things work to a common purpose in which we are united and agreed about, and which all present will agree is absolutely necessary—which *must* be done by any rightful mode if there be such: *Slavery must be kept out of Kansas!* [Applause.] The test—the pinch— is right there. If we lose Kansas to freedom, an example will be set which will prove fatal to freedom in the end. We, therefore, in the language of the *Bible,* must "lay the axe to the root of the tree." Temporizing will not do longer; now is the time for decision—for firm, persistent, resolute action. [Applause.]

The Nebraska bill, or rather Nebraska law, is not one of wholesome legislation, but was and is an act of legislative usurpation, whose result, if not indeed intention, is to make slavery national; and unless headed off in some effective way, we are in a fair way to see this land of boasted freedom converted into a land of slavery in fact. [Sensation.] Just open your two eyes, and see if this be not so. I need do no more than state, to command universal approval, that almost the entire North, as well as a large following in the border States, is radically opposed to the planting of slavery in free territory. Probably in a popular vote throughout the nation nine-tenths of the voters in the free States, and at least one-half in the border States, if they could express their sentiments freely, would vote NO on such an issue; and it is safe to say that two-thirds of the votes of the entire nation would be opposed to it. And yet, in spite of this overbalancing of sentiment in this free country, we are in a fair way to see Kansas present itself for admission as a slave State. Indeed, it is a felony, by the local law of Kansas, to deny that slavery exists there even now. By every principle of law, a negro in Kansas is free; yet the *bogus* legislature makes it an infamous crime to tell him that he is free! *

The party lash and the fear of ridicule will overawe justice and liberty; for it is a singular fact, but none the less a fact, and well known by the most common experience, that men will do things under the terror of the party lash that they would not on any account or for any consideration do otherwise; while men who will march up to the mouth of a loaded cannon without shrinking, will run from the terrible name of "Abolitionist," even when pro-

* Statutes of Kansas, 1855, Chapter 151, Sec. 12. If any free person, by speaking or by writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory print, publish, write, circulate . . . any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of *felony,* and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years.

Sec. 13. No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecution for any violation of any Sections of this Act

nounced by a worthless creature whom they, with good reason, despise. For instance—to press this point a little—Judge Douglas introduced his anti-Nebraska bill in January; and we had an extra session of our legislature in the succeeding February, in which were seventy-five Democrats; and at a party caucus, fully attended, there were just three votes out of the whole seventy-five, for the measure. But in a few days orders came on from Washington, commanding them to approve the measure; the party lash was applied, and it was brought up again in caucus, and passed by a large majority. The masses were against it, but party necessity carried it; and it was passed through the lower house of Congress against the will of the people, for the same reason. Here is where the greatest danger lies—that, while we profess to be a government of law and reason, law will give way to violence on demand of this awful and crushing power. Like the great Juggernaut—I think that is the name—the great idol, it crushes everything that comes in its way, and makes a—or as I read once, in a blackletter law book, "a slave is a human being who is legally not a *person* but a *thing*." And if the safeguards to liberty are broken down, as is now attempted, when they have made *things* of all the free negroes, how long, think you, before they will begin to make *things* of poor white men? [Applause.] Be not deceived. Revolutions do not go backward. The founder of the Democratic party declared that *all* men were created equal. His successor in the leadership has written the word "white" before men, making it read "all *white* men are created equal." Pray, will or may not the Know-nothings, if they should get in power, add the word "protestant," making it read "*all protestant white men*"?

Meanwhile the hapless negro is the fruitful subject of reprisals in other quarters. John Pettit, whom Tom Benton paid his respects to, you will recollect, calls the immortal Declaration "a self-evident lie;" while at the birthplace of freedom—in the shadow of Bunker Hill and of the "cradle of liberty," at the home of the Adamses and Warren and Otis—Choate, from our side of the house, dares to fritter away the birthday promise of liberty by proclaiming the Declaration to be "a string of glittering generalities;" and the Southern Whigs, working hand in hand with pro-slavery Democrats, are making Choate's theories practical. Thomas Jefferson, a slaveholder, mindful of the moral element in slavery, solemnly declared that he "trembled for his country when he remembered that God is just;" while Judge Douglas, with an insignificant wave of the hand, "don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down." Now, if slavery is right, or even negative, he has a right to treat it in this trifling manner. But if it is a moral and political wrong, as all Christendom considers it to be, how can he answer to God for this attempt to spread and fortify it? [Applause.]

But no man, and Judge Douglas no more than any other, can maintain a negative, or merely neutral, position on this question;

and, accordingly, he avows that the Union was made *by* white men and *for* white men and their descendants. As matter of fact, the first branch of the proposition is historically true; the government was made by white men, and they were and are the superior race. This I admit. But the corner-stone of the government, so to speak, was the declaration that "*all* men are created equal," and all entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." [Applause.]

And not only so, but the framers of the Constitution were particular to keep out of that instrument the word "slave," the reason being that slavery would ultimately come to an end, and they did not wish to have any reminder that in this free country human beings were ever prostituted to slavery. [Applause.] Nor is it any argument that we are superior and the negro inferior—that he has but one talent while we have ten. Let the negro possess the little he has in independence; if he has but one talent, he should be permitted to keep the little he has. [Applause.] But slavery will endure no test of reason or logic; and yet its advocates, like Douglas, use a sort of bastard logic, or noisy assumption, it might better be termed, like the above, in order to prepare the mind for the gradual, but none the less certain, encroachments of the Moloch of slavery upon the fair domain of freedom. But however much you may argue upon it, or smother it in soft phrase, slavery can only be maintained by force—by violence. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was by violence. It was a violation of both law and the sacred obligations of honor, to overthrow and trample underfoot a solemn compromise, obtained by the fearful loss to freedom of one of the fairest of our Western domains. Congress violated the will and confidence of its constituents in voting for the bill; and while public sentiment, as shown by the elections of 1854, demanded the restoration of this compromise, Congress violated its trust by refusing, simply because it had the force of numbers to hold on to it. And murderous violence is being used now, in order to force slavery on to Kansas; for it cannot be done in any other way. [Sensation.]

The necessary result was to establish the rule of violence—force, instead of the rule of law and reason; to perpetuate and spread slavery, and, in time, to make it general. We see it at both ends of the line. In Washington on the very spot where the outrage was started, the fearless Sumner is beaten to insensibility, and is now slowly dying; while senators who claim to be gentlemen and Christians stood by, countenancing the act, and even applauding it afterward in their places in the Senate. Even Douglas, our man, saw it all and was within helping distance, yet let the murderous blows fall unopposed. Then, at the other end of the line, at the very time Sumner was being murdered, Lawrence was being destroyed for the crime of Freedom. It was the most prominent stronghold of liberty in Kansas, and must give way to the all-dominating power of slavery. Only two days ago, Judge Trum-

bull found it necessary to propose a bill in the Senate to prevent a general civil war and to restore peace in Kansas.

We live in the midst of alarms; anxiety beclouds the future; we expect some new disaster with each newspaper we read. Are we in a healthful political state? Are not the tendencies plain? Do not the signs of the times point plainly the way in which we are going? [Sensation.]

In the early days of the Constitution slavery was recognized, by South and North alike, as an evil, and the division of sentiment about it was not controlled by geographical lines or considerations of climate, but by moral and philanthropic views. Petitions for the abolition of slavery were presented to the very first Congress by Virginia and Massachusetts alike. To show the harmony which prevailed, I will state that a fugitive slave law was passed in 1793, with no dissenting voice in the Senate, and but seven dissenting votes in the House. It was, however, a wise law, moderate, and, under the Constitution, a just one. Twenty-five years later, a more stringent law was proposed and defeated; and thirty-five years after that, the present law, drafted by Mason of Virginia, was passed by Northern votes. I am not, just now, complaining of this law, but I am trying to show how the current sets; for the proposed law of 1817 was far less offensive than the present one. In 1774 the Continental Congress pledged itself, without a dissenting vote, to wholly discontinue the slave trade, and to neither purchase nor import any slave; and less than three months before the passage of the Declaration of Independence, the same Congress which adopted that declaration unanimously resolved "that *no slave be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies.*" [Great applause.]

On the second day of July, 1776, the draft of a Declaration of Independence was reported to Congress by the committee, and in it the slave trade was characterized as "an execrable commerce," as "a piratical warfare," as the "opprobrium of infidel powers," and as "a cruel war against human nature." [Applause.] All agreed on this except South Carolina and Georgia, and in order to preserve harmony, and from the necessity of the case, these expressions were omitted. Indeed, abolition societies existed as far south as Virginia; and it is a well-known fact that Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Lee, Henry, Mason, and Pendleton were qualified abolitionists, and much more radical on that subject than we of the Whig and Democratic parties claim to be to-day. On March 1, 1784, Virginia ceded to the confederation all its lands lying northwest of the Ohio River. Jefferson, Chase of Maryland, and Howell of Rhode Island, as a committee on that and territory thereafter *to be ceded,* reported that no slavery should exist after the year 1800. Had this report been adopted, not only the Northwest, but Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi also would have been free; but it required the assent of nine States to ratify it. North Carolina was divided, and thus

its vote was lost; and Delaware, Georgia, and New Jersey refused to vote. In point of fact, as it was, it was assented to by six States. Three years later, on a square vote to exclude slavery from the Northwest, only one vote, and that from New York, was against it. And yet, thirty-seven years later, five thousand citizens of Illinois out of a voting mass of less than twelve thousand, deliberately, after a long and heated contest, voted to introduce slavery in Illinois; and, to-day, a large party in the free State of Illinois are willing to vote to fasten the shackles of slavery on the fair domain of Kansas, notwithstanding it received the dowry of freedom long before its birth as a political community. I repeat, therefore, the question: Is it not plain in what direction we are tending? [Sensation.] In the colonial time, Mason, Pendleton, and Jefferson were as hostile to slavery in Virginia as Otis, Ames, and the Adamses were in Massachusetts; and Virginia made as earnest an effort to get rid of it as old Massachusetts did. But circumstances were against them and they failed; but not that the good will of its leading men was lacking. Yet within less than fifty years Virginia changed its tune, and made negro-breeding for the cotton and sugar States one of its leading industries. [Laughter and applause.]

In the Constitutional Convention, George Mason of Virginia made a more violent abolition speech than my friends Lovejoy or Codding would desire to make here to-day—a speech which could not be safely repeated anywhere on Southern soil in this enlightened year. But while there were some differences of opinion on this subject even then, discussion was allowed; but as you see by the Kansas slave code, which, as you know, is the Missouri slave code, merely ferried across the river, it is a felony to even express an opinion hostile to that foul blot in the land of Washington and the Declaration of Independence. [Sensation.]

In Kentucky—my State—in 1849, on a test vote, the mighty influence of Henry Clay and many other good men there could not get a symptom of expression in favor of gradual emancipation on a plain issue of marching toward the light of civilization with Ohio and Illinois; but the State of Boone and Hardin and Henry Clay, with a *nigger* under each arm, took the black trail toward the deadly swamps of barbarism. Is there—can there be—any doubt about this thing? And is there any doubt that we must all lay aside our prejudices and march, shoulder to shoulder, in the great army of Freedom? [Applause.]

Every Fourth of July our young orators all proclaim this to be "the land of the *free* and the home of the brave!" Well, now, when you orators get that off next year, and, may be, this very year, how would you like some old grizzled farmer to get up in the grove and deny it? [Laughter.] How would you like that? But suppose Kansas comes in as a slave State, and all the "border ruffians" have barbecues about it, and free-State men come trailing back to the dishonored North, like whipped dogs with their

tails between their legs, it is—ain't it?—evident that this is no more the "land of the free;" and if we let it go so, we won't dare to say "home of the brave" out loud. [Sensation and confusion.]

Can any man doubt that, even in spite of the people's will, slavery will triumph through violence, unless that will be made manifest and enforced? Even Governor Reeder claimed at the outset that the contest in Kansas was to be fair, but he got his eyes open at last; and I believe that, as a result of this moral and physical violence, Kansas will soon apply for admission as a slave State. And yet we can't mistake that the people don't want it so, and that it is a land which is free both by natural and political law. *No law, is free law!* Such is the understanding of all Christendom. In the Somerset case, decided nearly a century ago, the great Lord Mansfield held that slavery was of such a nature that it must take its rise in *positive* (as distinguished from *natural*) law; and that in no country or age could it be traced back to any other source. Will some one please tell me where is the *positive* law that establishes slavery in Kansas? [A voice: "The *bogus* laws."] Aye, the *bogus* laws! And, on the same principle, a gang of Missouri horse-thieves could come into Illinois and declare horse-stealing to be legal [Laughter], and it would be just as legal as slavery is in Kansas. But by express statute, in the land of Washington and Jefferson, we may soon be brought face to face with the discreditable fact of showing to the world by our acts that we prefer slavery to freedom—darkness to light! [Sensation.]

It is, I believe, a principle in law that when one party to a contract violates it so grossly as to chiefly destroy the object for which it is made, the other party may rescind it. I will ask Browning if that ain't good law. [Voices: "Yes!"] Well, now if that be right, I go for rescinding the whole, entire Missouri Compromise and thus turning Missouri into a free State; and I should like to know the difference—should like for any one to point out the difference—between *our* making a free State of Missouri and *their* making a slave State of Kansas. [Great applause.] There ain't one bit of difference, except that our way would be a great mercy to humanity. But I have never said—and the Whig party has never said—and those who oppose the Nebraska bill do not as a body say, that they have any intention of interfering with slavery in the slave States. Our platform says just the contrary. We allow slavery to exist in the slave States,—not because slavery is right or good, but from the necessities of our Union. We grant a fugitive slave law because it is so "nominated in the bond;" because our fathers so stipulated—had to—and we are bound to carry out this agreement. But they did not agree to introduce slavery in regions where it did not previously exist. On the contrary, they said by their example and teachings that they did not deem it expedient—did not consider it right—to do so; and it is wise and right to do just as they did about it [Voices: "Good!"], and that is what we propose—not to interfere

with slavery where it exists (we have never tried to do it), and to give them a reasonable and efficient fugitive slave law. [A voice: "No!"] I say YES! [Applause.] It was part of the bargain, and I'm for living up to it; but I go no further; I'm not bound to do more, and I won't agree any further. [Great applause.]

We, here in Illinois, should feel especially proud of the provision of the Missouri Compromise excluding slavery from what is now Kansas; for an Illinois man, Jesse B. Thomas, was its father. Henry Clay, who is credited with the authorship of the Compromise in general terms, did not even vote for that provision, but only advocated the ultimate admission by a second compromise; and Thomas was, beyond all controversy, the real author of the "slavery restriction" branch of the Compromise. To show the generosity of the Northern members toward the Southern side: on a test vote to exclude slavery from Missouri, ninety voted not to exclude, and eighty-seven to exclude, every vote from the slave States being ranged with the former and fourteen votes from the free States, of whom seven were from New England alone; while on a vote to exclude slavery from what is now Kansas, the vote was one hundred and thirty-four *for,* to forty-two *against.* The scheme, as a whole, was, of course, a Southern triumph. It is idle to contend otherwise, as is now being done by the Nebraskites; it was so shown by the votes and quite as emphatically by the expressions of representative men. Mr. Lowndes of South Carolina was never known to commit a political mistake; his was the great judgment of that section; and he declared that this measure "would restore tranquillity to the country—a result demanded by every consideration of discretion, of moderation, of wisdom, and of virtue." When the measure came before President Monroe for his approval, he put to each member of his cabinet this question: "Has Congress the constitutional power to prohibit slavery in a territory?" And John C. Calhoun and William H. Crawford from the South, equally with John Quincy Adams, Benjamin Rush, and Smith Thompson from the North, alike answered, *"Yes!"* without qualification or equivocation; and this measure, of so great consequence to the South, was passed; and Missouri was, by means of it, finally enabled to knock at the door of the Republic for an open passage to its brood of slaves. And, in spite of this, Freedom's share is about to be taken by violence—by the force of misrepresentative votes, not called for by the popular will. What name can I, in common decency, give to this wicked transaction? [Sensation.]

But even then the contest was not over; for when the Missouri constitution came before Congress for its approval, it forbade any free negro or mulatto from entering the State. In short, our Illinois "black laws" were hidden away in their constitution [laughter], and the controversy was thus revived. Then it was that Mr. Clay's talents shone out conspicuously, and th controversy that

shook the Union to its foundation was finally settled to the satisfaction of the conservative parties on both sides of the line, though not to the extremists on either, and Missouri was admitted by the small majority of six in the lower House. How great a majority, do you think, would have been given had Kansas also been secured for slavery? [A voice: "A majority the other way."] "A majority the other way," is answered. Do you think it would have been safe for a Northern man to have confronted his constituents after having voted to consign both Missouri and Kansas to hopeless slavery? And yet this man Douglas, who misrepresents his constituents and who has exerted his highest talents in that direction, will be carried in triumph through the State and hailed with honor while applauding that act. [Three groans for "*Dug!*"] And this shows whither we are tending. This thing of slavery is more powerful than its supporters—even than the high priests that minister at its altar. It debauches even our greatest men. It gathers strength, like a rolling snow-ball, by its own infamy. Monstrous crimes are committed in its name by persons collectively which they would not dare to commit as individuals. Its aggressions and encroachments almost surpass belief. In a despotism, one might not wonder to see slavery advance steadily and remorselessly into new dominions; but is it not wonderful, is it not even alarming, to see its steady advance in a land dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal?" [Sensation.]

It yields nothing itself; it keeps all it has, and gets all it can besides. It really came dangerously near securing Illinois in 1824; it did get Missouri in 1821. The first proposition was to admit what is now Arkansas *and* Missouri as one slave State. But the territory was divided and Arkansas came in, without serious question, as a slave State; and afterwards Missouri, not as a sort of equality, *free,* but also as a slave State. Then we had Florida and Texas; and now Kansas is about to be forced into the dismal procession. [Sensation.] And so it is wherever you look. We have not forgotten—it is but six years since—how dangerously near California came to being a slave State. Texas is a slave State, and four other slave States may be carved from its vast domain. And yet, in the year 1829, slavery was abolished throughout that vast region by a royal decree of the then sovereign of Mexico. Will you please tell me by what *right* slavery exists in Texas to-day? By the same right as, and no higher or greater than, slavery is seeking dominion in Kansas: by political force—peaceful, if that will suffice; by the torch (as in Kansas) and the bludgeon (as in the Senate chamber), if required. And so history repeats itself; and even as slavery has kept its course by craft, intimidation, and violence in the past, so it will persist, in my judgment, until met and dominated by the will of a people bent on its restriction.

We have, this very afternoon, heard bitter denunciations of Brooks in Washington, and Titus, Stringfellow, Atchison, Jones,

and Shannon in Kansas—the battle-ground of slavery. I certainly am not going to advocate or shield them; but they and their acts are but the necessary outcome of the Nebraska law. We should reserve our highest censure for the authors of the mischief, and not for the catspaws which they use. I believe it was Shakespeare who said, "Where the offence lies, there let the axe fall;" and, in my opinion, this man Douglas and the Northern men in Congress who advocate "Nebraska" are more guilty than a thousand Joneses and Stringfellows, with all their murderous practices, can be. [Applause.]

We have made a good beginning here to-day. As our Methodist friends would say, "I feel it is good to be here." While extremists may find some fault with the moderation of our platform, they should recollect that "the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift." In grave emergencies, moderation is generally safer than radicalism; and as this struggle is likely to be long and earnest, we must not, by our action, repel any who are in sympathy with us in the main, but rather win all that we can to our standard. We must not belittle nor overlook the facts of our condition—that we are new and comparatively weak, while our enemies are entrenched and relatively strong. They have the administration and the political power; and, right or wrong, at present they have the numbers. Our friends who urge an appeal to arms with so much force and eloquence, should recollect that the government is arrayed against us, and that the numbers are now arrayed against us as well; or, to state it nearer to the truth, they are not yet expressly and affirmatively for us; and we should repel friends rather than gain them by anything savoring of revolutionary methods. As it now stands, we must appeal to the sober sense and patriotism of the people. We will make converts day by day; we will grow strong by calmness and moderation; we will grow strong by the violence and injustice of our adversaries. And, unless truth be a mockery and justice a hollow lie, we will be in the majority after a while, and then the revolution which we will accomplish will be none the less radical from being the result of pacific measures. The battle of freedom is to be fought out on principle. Slavery is a violation of the eternal right. We have temporized with it from the necessities of our condition; but *as sure as God reigns and school children read,* THAT BLACK FOUL LIE CAN NEVER BE CONSECRATED INTO GOD'S HALLOWED TRUTH! [Immense applause lasting some time.] One of our greatest difficulties is, that men who *know* that slavery is a detestable crime and ruinous to the nation, are compelled, by our peculiar condition and other circumstances, to advocate it concretely, though damning it in the raw. Henry Clay was a brilliant example of this tendency; others of our purest statesmen are compelled to do so; and thus slavery secures actual support from those who detest it at heart. Yet Henry Clay perfected and forced through the Compromise which secured to

slavery a great State as well as a political advantage. Not that he hated slavery less, but that he loved the whole Union more. As long as slavery profited by his great Compromise, the hosts of pro-slavery could not sufficiently cover him with praise; but now that this Compromise stands in their way—

> ". . . they never mention him,
> His name is never heard:
> Their lips are now forbid to speak
> That once familiar word."

They have slaughtered one of his most cherished measures, and his ghost would arise to rebuke them. [Great applause.]

Now, let us harmonize, my friends, and appeal to the moderation and patriotism of the people: to the sober second thought; to the awakened public conscience. The repeal of the sacred Missouri Compromise has installed the weapons of violence: the bludgeon, the incendiary torch, the death-dealing rifle, the bristling cannon—the weapons of kingcraft, of the inquisition, of ignorance, of barbarism, of oppression. We see its fruits in the dying bed of the heroic Sumner; in the ruins of the "Free State" hotel; in the smoking embers of the "Herald of Freedom;" in the free-State Governor of Kansas chained to a stake on freedom's soil like a horse-thief, for the crime of freedom. [Applause.] We see it in Christian statesmen, and Christian newspapers, and Christian pulpits applauding *the cowardly act of a low bully,* WHO CRAWLED UPON HIS VICTIM BEHIND HIS BACK AND DEALT THE DEADLY BLOW. [Sensation and applause.] We note our political demoralization in the catch-words that are coming into such common use; on the one hand, "freedom-shriekers," and sometimes "freedom-screechers" [Laughter]; and, on the other hand, "border ruffians," and that fully deserved. And the significance of catch-words cannot pass unheeded, for they constitute a sign of the times. Everything in this world "jibes" in with everything else, and all the fruits of this Nebraska bill are like the poisoned source from which they come. I will not say that we may not sooner or later be compelled to meet force by force; but the time has not yet come, and if we are true to ourselves, may never come. Do not mistake that the ballot is stronger than the bullet. Therefore let the legions of slavery use bullets; but let us wait patiently till November and fire ballots at them in return; and by that peaceful policy, I believe we shall ultimately win. [Applause.]

It was by that policy that here in Illinois the early fathers fought the good fight and gained the victory. In 1824 the free men of our State, led by Governor Coles (who was a native of Maryland and President Madison's private secretary), determined that those beautiful groves should never reëcho the dirge of one who has no title to himself. By their resolute determination, the winds that sweep across our broad prairies shall never cool the parched brow, nor shall the unfettered streams that bring joy

and gladness to our free soil water the tired feet, of a *slave;* but so long as those heavenly breezes and sparkling streams bless the land, or the groves and their fragrance or memory remain, the humanity to which they minister SHALL BE FOREVER FREE! [Great applause.] Palmer, Yates, Williams, Browning, and some more in this convention came from Kentucky to Illinois (instead of going to Missouri), not only to better their conditions, but also to get away from slavery. They have said so to me, and it is understood among us Kentuckians that we don't like it one bit. Now, can we, mindful of the blessings of liberty which the early men of Illinois left to us, refuse a like privilege to the free men who seek to plant Freedom's banner on our Western outposts? ["No! No!"] Should we not stand by our neighbors who seek to better their conditions in Kansas and Nebraska? ["Yes!" "Yes!"] Can we as Christian men, and strong and free ourselves, wield the sledge or hold the iron which is to manacle anew an already oppressed race? ["No! No!"] "Woe unto them," it is written, "that decree unrighteous decrees and that write grievousness which they have prescribed." Can we afford to sin any more deeply against human liberty? ["No! No!"]

One great trouble in the matter is, that slavery is an insidious and crafty power, and gains equally by open violence of the brutal as well as by sly management of the peaceful. Even after the ordinance of 1787, the settlers in Indiana and Illinois (it was all one government then) tried to get Congress to allow slavery temporarily, and petitions to that end were sent from Kaskaskia, and General Harrison, the Governor, urged it from Vincennes, the capital. If that had succeeded, good-by to liberty here. But John Randolph of Virginia made a vigorous report against it; and although they persevered so well as to get three favorable reports for it, yet the United States Senate, with the aid of some slave States, finally *squelched* it for good. [Applause.] And that is why this hall is to-day a temple for free men instead of a negro livery stable. [Great applause and laughter.] Once let slavery get planted in a locality, by ever so weak or doubtful a title, and in ever so small numbers, and it is like the Canada thistle or Bermuda grass—you can't root it out. You yourself may detest slavery; but your neighbor has five or six slaves, and he is an excellent neighbor, or your son has married his daughter, and they beg you to help save their property, and you vote against your interest and principles to accommodate a neighbor, hoping that your vote will be on the losing side. And others do the same; and in those ways slavery gets a sure foothold. And when that is done the whole mighty Union—the force of the nation—is committed to its support. And that very process is working in Kansas to-day. And you must recollect that the slave property is worth a billion of dollars ($1,000,000,000); while free-State men must work for sentiment alone. Then there are "blue lodges"—as they call them—everywhere doing their secret and deadly work.

It is a very strange thing, and not solvable by any moral law that I know of, that if a man loses his horse, the whole country will turn out to help hang the thief; but if a man but a shade or two darker than I am is himself stolen, the same crowd will hang one who aids in restoring him to liberty. Such are the inconsistencies of slavery, where a horse is more sacred than a man; and the essence of *squatter* or popular sovereignty—I don't care how you call it—is that if one man chooses to make a slave of another, no third man shall be allowed to object. And if you can do this in free Kansas, and it is allowed to stand, the next thing you will see is ship loads of negroes from Africa at the wharf at Charleston; for one thing is as truly lawful as the other; and these are the bastard notions we have got to stamp out, else they will stamp us out. [Sensation and applause.]

Two years ago, at Springfield, Judge Douglas avowed that Illinois came into the Union as a slave State, and that slavery was weeded out by the operation of his great, patent, everlasting principle of "popular sovereignty." [Laughter.] Well, now, that argument must be answered, for it has a little grain of truth at the bottom. I do not mean that it is true in essence, as he would have us believe. It could not be essentially true if the ordinance of '87 was valid. But, in point of fact, there were some degraded beings called slaves in Kaskaskia and the other French settlements when our first State constitution was adopted; that is a fact, and I don't deny it. Slaves were brought here as early as 1720, and were kept here in spite of the ordinance of 1787 against it. But slavery did not thrive here. On the contrary, under the influence of the ordinance, the number *decreased* fifty-one from 1810 to 1820; while under the influence of *squatter* sovereignty, right across the river in Missouri, they *increased* seven thousand two hundred and eleven in the same time; and slavery finally faded out in Illinois, under the influence of the law of freedom, while it grew stronger and stronger in Missouri, under the law or practice of "popular sovereignty." In point of fact there were but one hundred and seventeen slaves in Illinois one year after its admission, or one to every four hundred and seventy of its population; or, to state it in another way, if Illinois was a slave State in 1820, so were New York and New Jersey much greater slave States from having had greater numbers, slavery having been established there in very early times. But there is this vital difference between all these States and the judge's Kansas experiment; that they sought to disestablish slavery which had been already established, while the judge seeks, so far as he can, to disestablish freedom, which had been established there by the Missouri Compromise. [Voices: "Good!"]

The Union is undergoing a fearful strain; but it is a stout old ship, and has weathered many a hard blow, and "the stars in their courses," aye, an invisible power, greater than the puny efforts of men, will fight for us. But we ourselves must not decline the burden of responsibility, nor take counsel of unworthy passions.

Whatever duty urges us to do or to omit, must be done or omitted; and the recklessness with which our adversaries break the laws, or counsel their violation, should afford no example for us. Therefore, let us revere the Declaration of Independence; let us continue to obey the Constitution and the laws; let us keep step to the music of the Union. Let us draw a cordon, so to speak, around the slave States, and the hateful institution, like a reptile poisoning itself, will perish by its own infamy. [Applause.]

But we cannot be free men if this is, by our national choice, to be a land of slavery. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it. [Loud applause.]

Did you ever, my friends, seriously reflect upon the speed with which we are tending downwards? Within the memory of men now present the leading statesmen of Virginia could make genuine, red-hot abolitionist speeches in old Virginia! and, as I have said, now even in "free Kansas" it is a crime to declare that it is "free Kansas." The very sentiments that I and others have just uttered, would entitle us, and each of us, to the ignominy and seclusion of a dungeon; and yet I suppose that, like Paul, we were "free born." But if this thing is allowed to continue, it will be but one step further to impress the same rule in Illinois. [Sensation.]

The conclusion of all is, that we must restore the Missouri Compromise. We must highly resolve that *Kansas must be free!* [Great applause.] We must reinstate the birthday promise of the Republic; we must reaffirm the Declaration of Independence; we must make good in essence as well as in form Madison's avowal that "the word *slave* ought not to appear in the Constitution;" and we must even go further, and decree that only local law, and not that time-honored instrument, shall shelter a slave-holder. We must make this a land of liberty in fact, as it is in name. But in seeking to attain these results—so indispensable if the liberty which is our pride and boast shall endure—we will be loyal to the Constitution and to the "flag of our Union," and no matter what our grievance—even though Kansas shall come in as a slave State; and no matter what theirs—even if we shall restore the Compromise—WE WILL SAY TO THE SOUTHERN DISUNIONISTS, WE WON'T GO OUT OF THE UNION, AND YOU SHAN'T!!! [This was the climax; the audience rose to its feet *en masse*, applauded, stamped, waved handkerchiefs, threw hats in the air, and ran riot for several minutes. The arch-enchanter who wrought this transformation looked, meanwhile, like the personification of political justice.]

But let us, meanwhile, appeal, to the sense and patriotism of the people, and not to their prejudices; let us spread the floods of enthusiasm here aroused all over these vast prairies, so suggestive of freedom. Let us commence by electing the gallant soldier Governor (Colonel) Bissell who stood for the honor of our

State alike on the plains and amidst the chaparral of Mexico and on the floor of Congress, while he defied the Southern Hotspur; and that will have a greater moral effect than all the border ruffians can accomplish in all their raids on Kansas. There is both a power and a magic in popular opinion. To that let us now appeal; and while, in all probability, no resort to force will be needed, our moderation and forbearance will stand us in good stead when, if ever, WE MUST MAKE AN APPEAL TO BATTLE AND TO THE GOD OF HOSTS! ! [Immense applause and a rush for the orator.]

William Grimes.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, July 12, 1856.

Yours of the 29th of June was duly received. I did not answer it because it plagued me. This morning I received another from Judd and Peck, written by consultation with you. Now let me tell you why I am plagued:

1. I can hardly spare the time.

2. I am superstitious. I have scarcely known a party preceding an election to call in help from the neighboring States, but they lost the State. Last fall, our friends had Wade, of Ohio, and others, in Maine; and they lost the State. Last spring our adversaries had New Hampshire full of South Carolinians, and they lost the State. And so, generally, it seems to stir up more enemies than friends.

Have the enemy called in any foreign help? If they have a foreign champion there, I should have no objection to drive a nail in his track. I shall reach Chicago on the night of the 15th, to attend to a little business in court. Consider the things I have suggested, and write me at Chicago. Especially write me whether Browning consents to visit you. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

(From "Life of Wm. Grimes," by Salter.)

John Bennett.

SPRINGFIELD, Aug. 4, 1856.

JOHN BENNETT, ESQ.

DEAR SIR: I understand you are a Fillmore man—If, as between Frémont and Buchanan you really prefer the election of Buchanan, then burn this without reading a line further— But if you would like to defeat Buchanan and his gang, allow me a word with you— Does any one pretend that Fillmore can carry the vote of this State? I have not heard a single man pretend so—Every vote taken from Frémont and given to Fillmore is just so much in favor of Buchanan. The Buchanan men see this; and hence their great anxiety in favor of the Fillmore movement— They know where the shoe pinches— They now greatly prefer having a man of your character go for Fillmore than for Buchanan

because they expect several to go with you, who would go for Frémont, if you were to go directly for Buchanan.

I think I now understand the relative strength of the three parties in this state as well as any one man does and my opinion is that to-day Buchanan has alone 85,000—Frémont 78,000 and Fillmore 21,000. This gives B. the state by 7,000 and leaves him in the minority of the whole 14,000.

Frémont and Fillmore men being united on Bissell as they already are, he can not be beaten—This is not a long letter, but it contains the whole story, Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by E. R. Oeltjen, Petersburg, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, Aug. 19, 1856.

DEAR DUBOIS: Your letter on the same sheet with Mr. Miller's is just received. I have been absent four days. I do not know when your court sits.

Trumbull has written the Committee here to have a set of appointments made for him commencing here in Springfield, on the 11th of Sept., and to extend throughout the south half of the State. When he goes to Lawrenceville, as he will, I will strain every nerve to be with you and him. More than that I cannot promise now. Yours as truly as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

Dr. R. Boal, Lacon, Ill.

Sept. 14, 1856.

DR. R. BOAL.

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 8th inviting me to be with (you) at Lacon on the 30th is received. I feel that I owe you and our friends of Marshall, a good deal; and I will come if I can; and if I do not get there, it will be because I shall think my efforts are now needed further South.

Present my regards to Mrs. Boal, and believe (me), as ever

Your friend,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Dr. Robert Boal, Lacon, Ill.)

Dr. R. Boal, Lacon, Ill.

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 25, 1856.

DR. R. BOAL.

DEAR SIR: When I was at Chicago two weeks ago I saw Mr. Arnold, and from a remark of his, I inferred he was thinking of the Speakership, though I think he was not anxious about it.

He seemed most anxious for harmony generally, and particularly that the contested seats from Peoria and McDonough might be rightly determined. Since I came home I had a talk with Cullom, one of our American representatives here, and he says he is for you for Speaker, and also that he thinks all the Americans will be for you, unless it be Gorin, of Macon, of whom he cannot speak. If you would like to be Speaker go right up and see Arnold. He is talented, a practiced debater, and, I think, would do himself more credit on the floor than in the Speaker's seat. Go and see him; and if you think fit, show him this letter.

Your friend as ever.

(Original owned by Dr. Robert Boal, Lacon, Ill.)

(Private.)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., February 20, 1857.

JOHN E. ROSETTE, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR: Your note about the little paragraph in the "Republican" was received yesterday, since which time I have been too unwell to notice it. I had not supposed you wrote or approved it. The whole originated in mistake. You know by the conversation with me that I thought the establishment of the paper unfortunate, but I always expected to throw no obstacle in its way, and to patronize it to the extent of taking and paying for one copy. When the paper was brought to my house, my wife said to me, "Now are you going to take another worthless little paper?" I said to her *evasively*, "I have not directed the paper to be left." From this, in my absence, she sent the message to the carrier. This is the whole story.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(From Herndon's "Life of Lincoln.")

To William Grimes.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, August, 1857.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 14th is received, and I am much obliged for the legal information you give.

You can scarcely be more anxious than I that the next election in Iowa should result in favor of the Republicans. I lost nearly all the working-part of last year, giving my time to the canvass; and I am altogether too poor to lose two years together. I am engaged in a suit in the United States Court at Chicago, in which the Rock Island Bridge Company is a party. The trial is to commence on the 8th of September, and probably will last two or three weeks. During the trial it is not improbable that all hands may come over and take a look at the bridge, and, if it were possible

to make it hit right, I could then speak at Davenport. My courts go right on without cessation till late in November. Write me again, pointing out the more striking points of difference between your old and new constitutions, and also whether Democratic and Republican party lines were drawn in the adoption of it, and which were for and which were against it. If, by possibility, I could get over among you it might be of some advantage to know these things in advance. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(From "Life of Wm. Grimes," by Salter.)

LINCOLN'S ARGUMENT IN THE ROCK ISLAND BRIDGE CASE.

From "The Daily Press" of Chicago, Sept. 24, 1857.

THE ROCK ISLAND BRIDGE CASE.

HURD ET AL.
vs.
RAILROAD BRIDGE CO.

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT,
HON. JOHN MCCLEAN, Presiding Judge.
13th day, Tuesday, Sept. 22nd, 1857.

HONORABLE ABRAM LINCOLN'S ARGUMENT.

Mr. A. Lincoln addressed the jury. He said he did not purpose to assail anybody, that he expected to grow earnest as he proceeded but not ill natured. "There is some conflict of testimony in the case," he said, "but one quarter of such a number of witnesses seldom agree and even if all were on one side, some discrepancy might be expected. We are to try and reconcile them, and to believe that they are not intentionally erroneous as long as we can." He had no prejudice, he said, against steam boats or steamboatmen nor any against St. Louis for he supposed they went about this matter as other people would do in their situation. "St. Louis," he continued, "as a commercial place may desire that this bridge should not stand as it is adverse to her commerce, diverting a portion of it from the river; and it may be that she supposes that the additional cost of railroad transportation upon the productions of Iowa will force them to go to St. Louis if this bridge is removed. The meetings in St. Louis are connected with this case only as some witnesses are in it and thus has some prejudice added color to their testimony."

The last thing that would be pleasing to him, Mr. Lincoln said, would be to have one of these great channels extending almost

from where it never freezes to where it never thaws blocked up but there is a travel from east to west whose demands are not less important than that of those of the river. It is growing larger and larger, building up new countries with a rapidity never before seen in the history of the world. He alluded to the astonishing growth of Illinois having grown within his memory to a population of a million and a half; to Iowa and the other young rising communities of the northwest.

"This current of travel," said he, "has its rights as well as that of north and south. If the river had not the advantage in priority and legislation we could enter into free competition with it and we could surpass it. This particular railroad line has a great importance and the statement of its business during a little less than a year shows this importance. It is in evidence that from September 8th, 1856, to August 8th, 1857, 12,586 freight cars and 74,179 passengers passed over this bridge. Navigation was closed four days short of four months last year, and during this time while the river was of no use this road and bridge were valuable. There is too a considerable portion of time when floating or thin ice makes the river useless while the bridge is as useful as ever. This shows that this bridge must be treated with respect in this court and is not to be kicked about with contempt. The other day Judge Wead alluded to the strike of the contending interest and even a dissolution of the Union. The proper mode for all parties in this affair is to 'live and let live' and then we will find a cessation of this trouble about the bridge. What mood were the steamboat men in when this bridge was burned? Why there was a shouting and ringing of bells and whistling on all the boats as it fell. It was a jubilee, a greater celebration than follows an excited election. The first thing I will proceed to is the record of Mr. Gurney and the complaint of Judge Wead that the record did not extend back over all the time from the completion of the bridge. The principal part of the navigation after the bridge was burned passed through the span. When the bridge was repaired and the boats were a second time confined to the draw it was provided that this record should be kept. That is the simple history of that book.

"From April 19th, 1856, to May 6th—seventeen days—there were twenty accidents and all the time since then there have been but twenty hits, including seven accidents, so that the dangers of this place are tapering off and as the boatmen get cool the accidents get less. We may soon expect if this ratio is kept up that there will be no accidents at all.

"Judge Wead said while admitting that the floats went straight through there was a difference between a float and a boat, but I do not remember that he indulged us with an argument in support of this statement. Is it because there is a difference in size? Will not a small body and a large one float the same way under the same influence? True a flat boat will float faster than an

egg shell and the egg shell might be blown away by the wind, but if under the *same influence* they would go the same way. Logs, floats, boards, various things the witnesses say all show the same current. Then is not this test reliable? At all depths too the direction of the current is the same. A series of these floats would make a line as long as a boat and would show any influence upon any part and all parts of the boat.

"I will now speak of the angular position of the piers. What is the amount of the angle? The course of the river is a curve and the pier is straight. If a line is produced from the upper end of the long pier straight with the pier to a distance of 350 feet and a line is drawn from a point in the channel opposite this point to the head of the pier, Colonel Nason says they will form an angle of twenty degrees. But the angle if measured at the pier is seven degrees, that is we would have to move the pier seven degrees to make it exactly straight with the current. Would that make the navigation better or worse? The witnesses of the plaintiff seem to think it was only necessary to say that the pier formed an angle with the current and that settled the matter. Our more careful and accurate witnesses say that though they had been accustomed to seeing the piers placed straight with the current, yet they could see that here the current had been made straight by us in having made this slight angle; that the water now runs just right, that it is straight and cannot be improved. They think that if the pier was changed the eddy would be divided and the navigation improved.

"I am not now going to discuss the question what is a material obstruction. We do not greatly differ about the law. The cases produced here are I suppose proper to be taken into consideration by the court in instructing a jury. Some of them I think are not exactly in point, but I am still willing to trust his honor, Judge McClean, and take his instructions as law. What is reasonable skill and care? This is a thing of which the jury are to judge. I differ from the other side when it says that they are bound to exercise no more care than was taken before the building of the bridge. If we are allowed by the legislature to build the bridge which will require them to do more than before when a pilot comes along it is unreasonable for him to dash on heedless of this structure which has been *legally put there*. The *Afton* came there on the 5th and lay at Rock Island until next morning. When a boat lies up the pilot has a holiday, and would not any of these jurors have then gone around to the bridge and gotten acquainted with the place. Pilot Parker has shown here that he does not understand the draw. I heard him say that the fall from the head to the foot of the pier was four feet; he needs information. He could have gone there that day and seen there was no such fall. He should have discarded passion and the chances are that he would have had no disaster at all. He was bound to make himself acquainted with the place.

"McCammon says that the current and the swell coming from the long pier drove her against the long pier. In other words drove her toward the very pier from which the current came! It is an absurdity, an impossibility. The only recollection I can find for this contradiction is in a current which White says strikes out from the long pier and then like a ram's horn turns back and this might have acted somehow in this manner.

"It is agreed by all that the plaintiff's boat was destroyed and that it was destroyed upon the head of the short pier; that she moved from the channel where she was with her bow above the head of the long pier; till she struck the short one, swung around under the bridge and there was crowded and destroyed.

"I shall try to prove that the average velocity of the current through the draw with the boat in it should be five and a half miles an hour; that it is slowest at the head of the pier and swiftest at the foot of the pier. Their lowest estimate in evidence is six miles an hour, their highest twelve miles. This was the testimony of men who had made no experiment, only conjecture. We have adopted the most exact means. The water runs swiftest in high water and we have taken the point of nine feet above low water. The water when the *Afton* was lost was seven feet above low water, or at least a foot lower than our time. Brayton and his assistants timed the instrument. The best instruments known in measuring currents. They timed them under various circumstances and they found the current five miles an hour and no more. They found that the water at the upper end ran slower than five miles; that below it was swifter than five miles, but that the average was five miles. Shall men who have taken no care, who conjecture, some of whom speak of twenty miles an hour, be believed against those who have had such a favorable and well improved opportunity? They should not even *qualify* the result. Several men have given their opinion as to the distance of the steamboat *Carson* and I suppose if *one* should go and *measure* that distance you would believe him in preference to all of them.

"These measurements were made when the boat was not in the draw. It has been ascertained what is the area of the cross section of this stream and the area of the face of the piers and the engineers say that the piers being put there will increase the current proportionally as the space is decreased. So with the boat in the draw. The depth of the channel was twenty-two feet, the width one hundred and sixteen feet, multiply there and you have the square feet across the water of the draw, viz.: 2,552 feet. The *Afton* was 35 feet wide and drew 5 feet, making a fourteenth of the sum. Now, one-fourteenth of five miles is five-fourteenths of one mile—about one third of a mile—the increase of the current. We will call the current five and a half miles per hour. The next thing I will try to prove is that the plaintiff's (?) boat had power to run six miles an hour in that current. It has been testified that she was a strong, swift boat, able to run eight miles an hour

up stream in a current of four miles an hour and fifteen miles down stream. Strike the average and you will find what is her average—about eleven and a half miles. Take the five and a half miles which is the speed of the current in the draw and it leaves the power of that boat in that draw at six miles an hour, 528 feet per minute and 8 4-5 feet to the second.

"Next I propose to show that there are no cross currents. I know their witnesses say that there are cross currents—that as one witness says there were three cross currents and two eddies; so far as mere statement without experiment and mingled with mistakes can go they have proved. But can these men's testimony be compared with the nice, exact, thorough experiments of our witnesses. Can you believe that these floats go across the currents? It is inconceivable that they could not have discovered every possible current. How do boats find currents that floats cannot discover? We assume the position then that those cross currents are not there. My next proposition is that the *Afton* passed between the *S. B. Carson* and the Iowa shore. That is undisputed.

"Next I shall show that she struck first the short pier, then the long pier, then the short one again and there she stopped."

Mr. Lincoln then cited the testimony of eighteen witnesses on this point.

"How did the boat strike when she went in? Here is an endless variety of opinion. But ten of them say what pier she struck; three of them testify that she struck first the short, then the long and then the short for the last time. None of the rest substantially contradict this. I assume that these men have got the truth because I believe it an established fact. My next proposition is that after she struck the short and long pier and before she got back to the short pier the boat got right with her bow up. So says the pilot Parker—'that he got her through until her starboard wheel passed the short pier.' This would make her head about even with the head of the long pier. He says her head was as high or higher than the head of the long pier. Other witnesses confirmed this one. The final stroke was in the splash door aft the wheel. Witnesses differ but the majority say that she struck thus."

Court adjourned.

14th day, Wednesday, Sept. 23, 1857.

Mr. A. Lincoln resumed. He said he should conclude as soon as possible. He said the colored map of the plaintiff which was brought in during one stage of the trial showed itself that the cross currents alleged did not exist. That the current as represented would drive an ascending boat to the long pier but not to the short pier, as they urge. He explained from a model of a boat where the splash door is just behind the wheel. The boat struck on the lower shoulder of the short pier as she swung around

in the splash door, then as she went on around she struck the point or end of the pier where she rested. "Her engineers," said Mr. Lincoln, "say the starboard wheel then was rushing around rapidly. Then the boat must have struck the upper point of the pier so far back as not to disturb the wheel. It is forty feet from the stern of the *Afton* to the splash door and thus it appears that she had but forty feet to go to clear the pier. How was it that the *Afton* with all her power flanked over from the channel to the short pier without moving one foot ahead? Suppose she was in the middle of the draw, her wheel would have been 31 feet from the short pier. The reason she went over thus is her starboard wheel was not working. I shall try to establish the fact that the wheel was not running and that after she struck she went ahead strong on this same wheel. Upon the last point the witnesses agree that the starboard wheel was running after she struck and no witnesses say that it was running while she was out in the draw flanking over."

Mr. Lincoln read from the testimonies of various witnesses to prove that the starboard wheel was not working while the *Afton* was out in the stream.

"Other witnesses show that the captain said something of the machinery of the wheel and the inference is that he knew the wheel was not working. The fact is undisputed that she did not move one inch ahead while she was moving this 31 feet sideways. There is evidence proving that the current there is only five miles an hour and the only explanation is that her power was not all used—that only one wheel was working. The pilot says he ordered the engineers to back her up. The engineers differ from him and said they kept one going ahead. The bow was so swung that the current pressed it over; the pilot pressed the stern over with the rudder though not so fast but that the bow gained on it and only one wheel being in motion the boat nearly stood still so far as motion up and down is concerned, and thus she was thrown upon this pier. The *Afton* came into the draw after she had just passed the *Carson* and as the *Carson* no doubt kept the true course the *Afton* going around her got out of the proper way, got across the current into the eddy which is west of a straight line drawn down from the long pier, was compelled to resort to these changes of wheels which she did not do with sufficient adroitness to save her. Was it not her own fault that she entered wrong, so far wrong that she never got right? Is the defense to blame for that?

"For several days we were entertained with depositions about boats 'smelling a bar.' Why did the *Afton* then after she had come up smelling so close to the long pier sheer off so strangely when she got to the center of the very nose she was smelling she seemed suddenly to have lost her sense of smell and to have flanked over to the short pier."

Mr. Lincoln said there was no practicability in the project of

building a tunnel under the river, for there "is not a tunnel that is a successful project in this world. A suspension bridge cannot be built so high but that the chimneys of the boats will grow up till they cannot pass. The steamboatmen will take pains to make them grow. The cars of a railroad cannot without immense expense rise high enough to get even with a suspension bridge or go low enough to get through a tunnel; such expense is unreasonable.

"The plaintiffs have to establish that the bridge is a material obstruction and that they have managed their boat with reasonable care and skill As to the last point high winds have nothing to do with it, for it was not a windy day. They must show due skill and care. Difficulties going down stream will not do for they were going up stream. Difficulties with barges in tow have nothing to do with the accident, for they had no barge."

Mr. Lincoln said he had much more to say, many things he could suggest to the jury, but he wished to close to save time.

Jesse K. Dubois.

BLOOMINGTON, Dec. 21, 1857.

DEAR DUBOIS: J. M. Douglas of the I. C. R. R. Co. is here and will carry this letter. He says they have a large sum (near $90,000) which they will pay into the treasury now, if they have an assurance that they shall not be sued before Jany. 1859—otherwise not. I really wish you could consent to this. Douglas says they *can not* pay more and I believe him.

I do not write this as a lawyer seeking an advantage for a client; but only as a friend, only urging you to do what I think I would do if I were in your situation. I mean this as private and confidential only, but I feel a good deal of anxiety about it.

Yours, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, Jan. 19, 1858.

To HON. GEO. T. BROWN:

Send Jo. Gillespie up here at once. Don't fail.

A. LINCOLN.

(Copy of note, sent with telegram, from Brown to Gillespie.)

DEAR JO:

Have just rec'd this telegraph. I know nothing further. I send a buggy for you.

BROWN.

(Copy of telegram sent from Abraham Lincoln, [Springfield] to Joseph Gillespie, [Edwardsville] through George T. Brown, [Alton].)

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine Gillespie Prickett.)

SPRINGFIELD, Jan. 19, 1858.

HON. JOSEPH GILLESPIE:

MY DEAR SIR: This morning Col. McClernand showed me a petition for a mandamus against the Secretary of State to compel him to certify the apportionment act of last session; and he says it will be presented to the court to-morrow morning. We shall be allowed three or four days to get up a return; and I, for one, want the benefit of consultation with you.

Please come right up. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine Gillespie Prickett of Edwardsville, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 7, 1858.

HON. J. GILLESPIE:

MY DEAR SIR: Yesterday morning the court overruled the demurrer to Hatch's return in the mandamus case. McClernand was present; said nothing about pleading over; and so I suppose the matter is ended. The court gave no reason for the decision; but Peck tells me confidentially that they were unanimous in the opinion that even if the Gov'r had signed the bill purposely, he had the right to scratch his name off, so long as the bill remained in his custody and control. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine Gillespie Prickett of Edwardsville, Ill.)

Mr. Edward G. Miner, Winchester, Ill.

SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 19, 1858.

EDWARD G. MINER, ESQ.,—

MY DEAR SIR: Mr. G. A. Sutton is an applicant for superintendent of the addition to the Insane Asylum, and I understand it partly depends on you whether he gets it.

Mr. Sutton is my fellow townsman and friend, and I therefore wish to say for him that he is a man of sterling integrity and as a master mechanic and builder not surpassed by any in our city, or any I have known anywhere as far as I can judge.

I hope you will consider me as being really interested for Mr. Sutton and not as writing merely to relieve myself of importunity.

Please show this to Col. William Ross and let him consider it as much intended for him as for yourself.

Your friend as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Edward G. Miner, Jr., Rochester, N. Y.)

Sydney Spring, Grayville, Ill.

SPRINGFIELD, June 19, 1858.

SYDNEY SPRING, ESQ.,

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter introducing Mr. Faree was duly received. There was no opening to nominate him for Superintendent of Public Instruction, but through him, Egypt made a most valuable contribution to the convention. I think it may be fairly said that he came off the lion of the day— or rather of the night. Can you not elect him to the Legislature? It seems to me he would be hard to beat. What objection could be made to him? What is your Senator Martin saying and doing? What is Webb about?

Please write me.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by S. T. Spring, Grayville, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, July 16, 1858.

HON. JOSEPH GILLESPIE:

MY DEAR SIR: I write this to say that from the specimens of Douglas Democracy we occasionally see here from Madison, we learn that they are making very confident calculation of beating you, and your friends for the lower house, in that county. They offer to bet upon it. Billings and Job, respectively, have been up here, and were each, as I learn, talking largely about it. If they do so, it can only be done by carrying the Fillmore men of 1856 very differently from what they seem to going in the other party. Below is the vote of 1856, in your district.

Counties.	Buchanan.	Frémont.	Fillmore.
Bond	607	153	659
Madison	1451	1111	1658
Montgomery	992	162	686
	3050	1426	3003

By this you will see, if you go through the calculation, that if *they* get one-quarter of the Fillmore votes, and *you* three-quarters, they will beat you 125 votes. If they get one-fifth, and you four-fifths, you beat them 179. In Madison, alone, if our friends get 1000 of the Fillmore votes, and their opponents the remainder, 658, we win by just two votes.

This shows the whole field, on the basis of the election of 1856. Whether, since then, any Buchanan, or Frémonters, have shifted ground, and how the majority of *new* votes will go, you can judge better than I.

Of course you, on the ground, can better determine your line of tactics than any one off the ground; but it behooves you to be wide awake, and actively working.

Don't neglect it; and write me at your first leisure.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

John Mathers, Jacksonville, Ill.

SPRINGFIELD, July 20, 1858.

JNO. MATHERS, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR: Your kind and interesting letter of the 19th was duly received. Your suggestions as to placing one's self on the offensive rather than the *defensive* are certainly correct. That is a point which I shall not disregard. I spoke here on Saturday night. The speech, not very well reported, appears in the State Journal of this morning. You doubtless will see it; and I hope that you will perceive in it, that I am already improving. I would mail you a copy now, but have not one hand. I thank you for your letter and shall be pleased to hear from you again.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by R. W. Mills, Virginia, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, July 25, 1858.

HON. J. GILLESPIE:

MY DEAR SIR: Your doleful letter of the 18th, was received on my return from Chicago last night. I do hope you are worse scared than hurt, though you ought to know best. We must not lose the district. We must make a job of it, and save it. Lay hold of the proper agencies, and secure all the Americans you can, at once. I do hope, on closer inspection, you will find they are not half gone. Make a little test. Run down one of the poll-books of the Edwardsville precinct, and take the first hundred known American names. Then quietly ascertain how many of them are actually going for Douglas. I think you will find less than fifty. But even if you find fifty, make sure of the other fifty,—that is, make sure of all you can, at all events. We will set other agencies to work which shall compensate for the loss of a good many Americans. Don't fail to check the stampede at once. Trumbull, I think, will be with you before long.

There is much he cannot do, and *some* he can. I have reason to hope there will be other help of an appropriate kind. Write me again.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine Gillespie Prickett of Edwardsville, Ill.)

B. C. Cook.

SPRINGFIELD, Aug. 2, 1858.

HON. B. C. COOK,

MY DEAR SIR: I have a letter from a very true friend and in-

telligent man insisting that there is a plan on foot in La Salle and Bureau to run Douglas republicans for Congress and for the Legislature in those counties, if they can only get the encouragement of our folks nominating pretty extreme abolitionists. It is thought they will do nothing if our folks nominate men who are not very obnoxious to the charge of abolitionism? Please have your eye upon this.

Signs are looking pretty fair. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

Hon. J. M. Palmer.

SPRINGFIELD, Aug. 5, 1858.

HON. J. M. PALMER,

DEAR SIR: Since we parted last evening no new thought has occurred to (me) on the subject of which we talked most yesterday.

I have concluded, however, to speak at your town on Tuesday, August 31st, and have promised to have it so appear in the papers of to-morrow. Judge Trumbull has not yet reached here.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by the Rev. Preston Wood, Springfield, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, Aug. 11, 1858.

ALEXANDER SYMPSON, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 6th received. If life and health continue I shall pretty likely be at Augusta on the 25th.

Things look reasonably well. Will tell you more fully when I see you. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by family of Alexander Sympson, Lewistown, Ill.)

Dr. William Fithian, Danville, Ill.

BLOOMINGTON, Sept. 3, 1858.

DEAR DOCTOR: Yours of the 1st was received this morning, as also one from Mr Harmon, and one from Hiram Beckwith on the same subject. You will see by the Journal that I have appointed to speak at Danville on the 22nd of Sept.,— the day after Douglas speaks there. My recent experience shows that speaking at the same place the next day after D. is the very thing,— it is, in fact, a concluding speech on him. Please show this to Messrs. Harmon and Beckwith; and tell them they must excuse me from writing separate letters to them. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

P. S.—Give full notice to all surrounding country.

A. L.

(Original owned by Dr. P. H. Fithian, Springfield, Ill.)

BLANDINSVILLE, Oct. 26, 1858.

A. SYMPSON, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR: Since parting with you this morning I heard some things which make me believe that Edmunds and Morrill will spend this week among the National Democrats trying to induce them to content themselves by voting for Jake Davis, and then to vote for the Douglas candidates for Senator and Representative. Have this headed off, if you can. Call Wagley's attention to it, and have him and the National Democrat for Rep. to counteract it as far as they can.

Yours as ever,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by family of Alexander Sympson, Lewistown, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 8, 1858.

H. D. SHARPE, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR: Your very kind letter of Nov. 9th was duly received. I do not know that you expected or desired an answer; but glancing over the contents of yours again, I am prompted to say that, while I desired the result of the late canvass to have been different, I still regard it as an exceeding small matter. I think we have fairly entered upon a durable struggle as to whether this nation is to ultimately become all slave or all free, and though I fall early in the contest, it is nothing if I shall have contributed, in the least degree, to the final rightful result.

Respectfully yours,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by the family of H. D. Sharpe, Brooklyn, N. Y.)

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 12, 1858.

ALEXANDER SYMPSON, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR: I expect the result of the election went hard with you. So it did with me, too, perhaps not quite so hard as you may have supposed. I have an abiding faith that we shall beat them in the long run. Step by step the objects of the leaders will become too plain for the people to stand them. I write merely to let you know that I am neither dead nor dying. Please give my respects to your good family, and all inquiring friends.

Yours as ever,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by family of Alexander Sympson, Lewistown, Ill.)

A LEGAL OPINION BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The 11th Section of the Act of Congress, approved Feb. 11, 1805, prescribing rules for the subdivision of Sections of land within

the United States system of Surveys, standing unrepealed, in my opinion, is binding on the respective purchasers of different parts of the same section, and furnishes the true rule for Surveyors in establishing lines between them— That law, being in force at this time each became a purchaser, becomes a condition of the purchase.

And, by that law, I think the true rule for dividing into quarters, any interior Section, or Sections, which is not fractional, is to run straight lines through the Section from the opposite quarter section corners, fixing the point where such straight lines cross, or intersect each other, as the middle or center of the Section.

Nearly, perhaps quite, all the original surveys are to some extent, erroneous, and in some of the Sections, greatly so. In each of the latter, it is obvious that a more equitable mode of division than the above, might be adopted; but as error is infinitely various perhaps no better single rules can be prescribed.

At all events I think the above has been prescribed by the competent authority. A. LINCOLN.

Springfield, Jany. 6, 1859.

(Original owned by L. A. Enos, Springfield, Ill.)

Hawkins Taylor.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Sept. 6, 1859.

HAWKINS TAYLOR, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 3d is just received. There is some mistake about my expected attendance of the U. S. Court in your city on the 3d Tuesday of this month. I have had no thought of being there. It is bad to be poor. I shall go to the wall for bread and meat, if I neglect my business this year as well as last. It would please me much to see the City, and good people, of Keokuk, but for this year it is little less than an impossibility. I am constantly receiving invitations which I am compelled to decline. I was pressingly urged to go to Minnesota; and I now have two invitations to go to Ohio. These last are prompted by Douglas going there; and I am really tempted to make a flying trip to Columbus and Cincinnati.

I do hope you will have no serious trouble in Iowa. What thinks Grimes about it? I have not known him to be mistaken about an election in Iowa. Present my respects to Col. Carter, and any other friends; and believe me Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original in the Collection of Hist. Dept. of Iowa. Loaned by the Hon. Chas. Aldrich, Des Moines, Iowa.)

MARCH 10, 1860.

As to your kind wishes for myself, allow me to say I cannot enter the ring on the money basis—first, because in the main it is

wrong; and secondly, I have not and cannot get the money. I say in the main the use of money is wrong; but for certain objects in a political contest, the use of some, is both right, and indispensable. With me, as with yourself, this long struggle has been one of great pecuniary loss. I now distinctly say this— If you shall be appointed a delegate to Chicago, I will furnish one hundred dollars to bear the expenses of the trip.

Present my respects to Genl. Lane; and say to him, I shall be pleased to hear from him at any time.

Your friend, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Extract from letter to Kansas delegate. Original in possession of J. W. Weik, Greencastle, Ind.)

Hawkins Taylor.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., April 21, 1860.

HAWKINS TAYLOR, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 15th is just received. It surprises me that you have written twice, without receiving an answer. I have answered all I ever received from you; and certainly one since my return from the East.

Opinions here, as to the prospect of Douglas being nominated, are quite conflicting—some very confident he *will*, and others that he will *not* be— I think his nomination possible; but that the chances are against him.

I am glad there is a prospect of your party passing this way to Chicago. Wishing to make your visit here as pleasant as we can, we wish you to notify us as soon as possible, whether you come this way, how many, and when you will arrive.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original in the Collection of Hist. Dept. of Iowa. Loaned by the Hon. Chas. Aldrich, Des Moines, Iowa.)

Hon. C. B. Smith.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 26, 1860.

HON. C. B. SMITH—

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 21st, was duly received; but I have found no time until now, to say a word in the way of answer. I am, indeed, much indebted to Indiana; and, as my home friends tell me, much to you personally. Your saying you no longer consider Ia. a doubtful state is very gratifying. The thing starts well everywhere— too well, I almost fear, to last. But we are in, and stick or go through, must be the word.

Let me hear from Indiana occasionally.

Your friend, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Werter G. Betty, Norwood, Ohio.)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., June 4, 1860.

HON. GEORGE ASHMUN:

MY DEAR SIR: It seems as if the question whether my first name is "Abraham" or "Abram" will never be settled. It is "Abraham," and if the letter of acceptance is not yet in print, you may, if you think fit, have my signature thereto printed "Abraham Lincoln." Exercise your judgment about this. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(From "Springfield, Mass., 1836-1886," by Mason A. Green.)

W. B. Miner.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Aug. 11, 1860.

W. B. MINER, ESQ.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 7th with newspaper slip attached is received; and for which I thank you. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Hist. Dept. of Iowa. Loaned by the Hon. Charles Aldrich, curator, Des Moines, Iowa.)

HON. JOHN ———
Private

SPRINGFIELD, ILL. Aug. 31, 1860

HON. JOHN ———,

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 27th is duly received— It consists almost exclusively of a historical detail of some local troubles, among some of our friends in Pennsylvania; and I suppose its object is to guard me against forming a prejudice against Mr. McC———. I have not heard near so much upon that subject as you probably suppose; and I am slow to listen to criminations among friends, and never expose their quarrels on either side— My sincere wish is that both sides will allow by-gones to be by-gones, and look to the present and future only.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Chas. Roberts, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.)

Hon. N. Sargent.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Sept. 20, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR: Your kind letter of the 16th was received yesterday; have just time to acknowledge its receipt, and to say I thank you for it; and that I shall be pleased to hear from you again whenever it is convenient for you to write.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

Wm. Herndon.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., October 10, 1860.

DEAR WILLIAM: I cannot give you details, but it is entirely certain that Pennsylvania and Indiana have gone Republican very largely. Pennsylvania 25,000, and Indiana 5,000 to 10,000. Ohio of course is safe. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(From Herndon's "Life of Lincoln." Permission of Jesse Weik.)

(Private and Confidential.)

Major David Hunter, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, October 26, 1860.

MAJOR DAVID HUNTER:

MY DEAR SIR: Your very kind letter of the 20th was duly received, for which please accept my thanks. I have another letter, from a writer unknown to me, saying the officers of the army at Fort Kearny have determined, in case of Republican success at the approaching presidential election, to take themselves, and the arms at that point, South, for the purpose of resistance to the government. While I think there are many chances to one that this is a humbug, it occurs to me that any real movement of this sort in the army would leak out and become known to you. In such case, if it would not be unprofessional or dishonorable (of which you are to be judge), I shall be much obliged if you will apprise me of it.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by War Records Commission.)

(Confidential.)

Major David Hunter.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, December 22, 1860.

MAJOR DAVID HUNTER:

MY DEAR SIR: I am much obliged by the receipt of yours of the 18th. The most we can do now is to watch events, and be as well prepared as possible for any turn things may take. If the forts fall, my judgment is that they are to be retaken. When I shall determine definitely my time of starting to Washington, I will notify you. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by War Records Commission.)

Hon. I. N. Morris, Quincy, Ill.

Confidential.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Dec. 24, 1860.

HON. I. N. MORRIS,

MY DEAR SIR: Without supposing that you and I are any nearer

together, politically than heretofore, allow me to tender you my sincere thanks for your Union resolution, expressive of views upon which we never were, and, I trust, never will be at variance.

Yours very truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Thomas L. Morris, Quincey, Ill.)

Hon. Postmaster-General, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 12, 1861.

HON. POST-MASTER GENERAL,

MY DEAR SIR: I understand that the outgoing and incoming Representatives for the Cleveland District, unite in recommending Edwin Cowles for P. M. in that City; that Senator Wade has considered the case and declines to interfere; and that no other M. C. interferes. Under these circumstances, if correct, I think Mr. Cowles better be appointed.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Hist. Dept. of Iowa. Loaned by the Hon. Charles Aldrich, curator, Des Moines, Iowa.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 13, 1861.

HON. P. M. G.

DEAR SIR: The bearer of this, Mr. C. T. Hempstow, is a Virginian who wishes to get, for his son, a small place in your Dept. I think Virginia should be heard, in such cases.

LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Hist. Dept. of Iowa. Loaned by the Hon. Charles Aldrich, curator, Des Moines, Iowa.)

WASHINGTON, March 30, 1861.

DEAR STUART:

Cousin Lizzie shows me your letter of the 27th. The question of giving her the Springfield Post-office troubles me. You see I have already appointed William Jayne a territorial governor and Judge Trumbull's brother to a land-office—Will it do for me to go on and justify the declaration that Trumbull and I have divided out all the offices among our relatives? Dr. Wallace you know, is needy, and looks to me; and I personally owe him much.—

I see by the papers, a vote is to be taken as to the Post-office. Could you not set up Lizzie and beat them all? She, being here,

need know nothing of it, so therefore there would be no indelicacy on her part.—

Yours, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mr. Stuart Brown, Springfield, Ill.)

The originals of the telegrams and letters which follow are in the collection of telegrams sent by the War Department during the Civil War, unless otherwise noted. A few of them appear in the official War Records, but none of them are to be found in the Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln edited by Nicolay and Hay, and the most of them have never before been printed. The telegrams have been compared with the originals by the Record and Pension Office.

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1861.

GOVERNOR E. D. MORGAN, Albany, N. Y.:

I wish to see you face to face to clear these difficulties about forwarding troops from New York.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, May 27, 1861.

COL. W. A. BARTLETT, New York:

The Naval Brigade was to go to Fort Monroe without trouble to the Government, and must so go or not at all.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 13, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR SIR: There is, it seems, a regiment in Massachusetts commanded by Fletcher Webster, and which Hon. Daniel Webster's old friends very much wish to get into the service. If it can be received with the approval of your Department and the consent of the Governor of Massachusetts I shall indeed be much gratified. Give Mr. Ashman a chance to explain fully.

Yours, truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(From War Records, Vol. I., Series III.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 13, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR SIR: I think it is entirely safe to accept a fifth regiment from Michigan, and with your approbation I should say a regiment presented by Col. T. B. W. Stockton, ready for service

within two weeks from now, will be received. Look at Colonel Stockton's testimonials.

Yours, truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(From War Records, Vol. I., Series III.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 17, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR SIR: With your concurrence, and that of the Governor of Indiana I am in favor of accepting into what we call the three years' service any number not exceeding four additional regiments from that State. Probably they should come from the triangular region between the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, including my own old boyhood home. Please see Hon. C. M. Allen, Speaker of the Indiana House of Representatives, and unless you perceive good reasons to the contrary, draw up an order for him according to the above.

Yours, truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(From War Records, Vol. I., Series III.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 17, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR SIR: With your concurrence, and that of the Governor of Ohio, I am in favor of receiving into what we call the three years' service any number not exceeding six additional regiments from that State, unless you perceive good reasons to the contrary. Please see Hon. John A. Gurley, who bears this, and make an order corresponding with the above.

Yours, truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(From War Records, Vol. I., Series III.)

NEW YORK, June 17, 1861.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT.

DEAR SIR: The Hon. Robert Dale Owen is authorized to present for your consideration our cavalry regiment being now raised upon the border. It will be composed of the best material both in men and horses. Mr. Owen will present to you the peculiar claims and condition of the border, differing from the border of any other State. I trust Your Excellency may find it consistent with your views and the public interest to accept of this regiment.

Very respectfully,
O. P. MORTON.

(Indorsement.)

June 22, 1861.

If agreeable to the Secretary of War, I approve the receiving one of the regiments already accepted from Indiana, organized and equipped as a cavalry regiment. A. LINCOLN.

(From War Records, Vol. I., Series III.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 29, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Kentucky Delegation who are for the Union:

I somewhat wish to authorize my friend, Jesse Bayles, to raise a Kentucky regiment, but I do not wish to do it without your consent. If you consent, please write so at the bottom of this.

Yours, truly,
A. LINCOLN.

We consent.

R. MALLORY.
H. GRIDER.
G. W. DUNLAP.
J. S. JACKSON.
C. A. WICKLIFFE.

August 5, 1861.

I repeat, I would like for Col. Bayles to raise a regiment of cavalry whenever the Union men of Kentucky desire or consent to it.

A. LINCOLN.

(From War Records, Vol. I., Series III.)

Secretary of Interior, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 6, 1861.

HON. SEC. OF INTERIOR,

MY DEAR SIR: Please ask the Comr. of Indian Affairs, and of the Gen'l Land Office to come with you, and see me at once. I want the assistance of all of you in overhauling the list of appointments a little before I send them to the Senate.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Werter G. Betty, Norwood, Ohio.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 24, 1861.

THE GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY.

SIR: Together with the regiments of three years' volunteers which the Government already has in service in your State, enough to make eight in all, if tendered in a reasonable time, will be accepted, the new regiments to be taken as far as convenient, from

the three months' men and officers just discharged, and to be organized, equipped, and sent forward as fast as single regiments are ready, on the same terms as were those already in the service from that State. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

(Indorsement.)

This order is entered in the War Department, and the Governor of New Jersey is authorized to furnish the regiments with wagons and horses.

S. CAMERON,
Secretary of War.

(From War Records, Vol. I., Series III.)

Hon. James Pollock.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 15, 1861.

HON. JAMES POLLOCK,

MY DEAR SIR: You must make a job for the bearer of this—make a job of it with the collector and have it done. You *can* do it for me and you *must*. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Chas. Roberts, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 4, 1861.

HONORABLE SECRETARY OF STATE.

MY DEAR SIR: Please see Mr. Walker, well vouched as a Union man and son-in-law of Governor Morehead, and pleading for his release. I understand the Kentucky arrests were not made by special direction from here and I am willing if you are that any of the parties may be released when James Guthrie and James Speed think they should be. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(From War Records, Vol. II., Series III.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, Dec. 31, 1861.

MAJOR-GENERAL HUNTER:

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 23d is received, and I am constrained to say it is difficult to answer so ugly a letter in good temper. I am, as you intimate, losing much of the great confidence I placed in you, not from any act or omission of yours touching the public service, up to the time you were sent to Leavenworth, but from the flood of grumbling despatches and letters I have seen from you since. I knew you were being ordered to Leavenworth at the time it was done; and I aver that with as tender a regard for your honor

and your sensibilities as I had for my own, it never occurred to me that you were being "humiliated, insulted and disgraced;" nor have I, up to this day, heard an intimation that you have been wronged, coming from any one but yourself—No one has blamed you for the retrograde movement from Springfield, nor for the information you gave General Cameron; and this you could readily understand, if it were not for your unwarranted assumption that the ordering you to Leavenworth must necessarily have been done as a *punishment* for some *fault*. I thought then, and think yet, the position assigned to you is as responsible, and as honorable, as that assigned to Buell—I know that General McClellan expected more important results from it. My impression is that at the time you were assigned to the new Western Department, it had not been determined to replace General Sherman in Kentucky; but of this I am not certain, because the idea that a command in Kentucky was very desirable, and one in the farther West undesirable, had never occurred to me—You constantly speak of being placed in command of only 3,000—Now tell me, is this not mere impatience? Have you not known all the while that you are to command four or five times that many?

I have been, and am sincerely your friend; and if, as such, I dare to make a suggestion, I would say you are adopting the best possible way to ruin yourself. "Act well your part, there all the honor lies." He who does *something* at the head of one Regiment, will eclipse him who does *nothing* at the head of a hundred.

Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

On the outside of the envelope in which this letter was found, General Hunter had written:

The President's reply to my "ugly letter." This lay on his table a month after it was written, and when finally sent was by a special conveyance, with the direction that it was only to be given to me when I was in a good humor.

(Original owned by War Records Commission.)

Department of State, Washington,
January 20, 1862.

Major-General George B. McClellan, Commanding Armies of the United States:

You or any officer you may designate will in your discretion suspend the writ of habeas corpus so far as may relate to Major Chase, lately of the Engineer Corps of the Army of the United States, now alleged to be guilty of treasonable practices against this Government. Abraham Lincoln.

By the President,

William H. Seward.

(From War Records, Vol. II., Series III.)

WASHINGTON, April 3, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Your dispatch in regard to Colonel Barrett's regiment is received. Use your own judgment in the matter. A. LINCOLN.

Please send above by order of the President. JOHN HAY, Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 9, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Saint Louis, Mo.:

If the rigor of the confinement of Magoffin at Alton is endangering his life, or materially impairing his health, I wish it mitigated as far as it can be consistently with his safe detention.

A. LINCOLN.

Please send above by order of the President. JOHN HAY.

Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 24, 1862.

HON. POSTMASTER GENERAL.

MY DEAR SIR: The Member of Congress from the District including Tiffin, O., calls on me about the Post-Master at that place. I believe I turned over a despatch to you from some persons there, asking a suspension, so as for them to be heard, or something of the sort. If nothing, or nothing amounting to anything, has been done, I think the suspension might now be suspended, and the commission go forward. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Hist. Dept. of Iowa. Loaned by Hon. Chas. Aldrich, curator, Des Moines, Iowa.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 29, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Would it derange or embarrass your operations if I were to appoint Captain Charles Griffin, a brigadier-general of volunteers? Please answer. A. LINCOLN.

SPEECH TO THE 12TH INDIANA REGIMENT.

Soldiers of the Twelfth Indiana Regiment: It has not been customary heretofore, nor will it be hereafter, for me to say something to every regiment passing in review. It occurs too frequently for me to have speeches ready on all occasions. As you have paid

such a mark of respect to the Chief Magistrate, it appears that I should say a word or two in reply.

Your Colonel has thought fit, on his own account and in your name, to say that you are satisfied with the manner in which I have performed my part in the difficulties which have surrounded the nation. For your kind expressions I am extremely grateful, but, on the other hand, I assure you that the nation is more indebted to you, and such as you, than to me. It is upon the brave hearts and strong arms of the people of the country that our reliance has been placed in support of free government and free institutions.

For the part which you and the brave army of which you are a part have, under Providence, performed in this great struggle, I tender more thanks—greatest thanks that can be possibly due—and especially to this regiment, which has been the subject of good report. The thanks of the nation will follow you, and may God's blessing rest upon you now and forever. I hope that upon your return to your homes you will find your friends and loved ones well and happy. I bid you farewell.

(From New York "Evening Post," May 15, 1862.)

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., June 5, 1862—9 1-2 p. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK:

I have received the following dispatch from General McClellan which I transmit for your consideration. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 7, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Your dispatch about Chattanooga and Dalton was duly received and sent to General Halleck. I have just received the following answer from him. We have Fort Pillow, Randolph and Memphis.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1862.

GOVERNOR O. P. MORTON, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Your dispatch of to-day is just received. I have no recollection of either John R. Cravens, or Cyrus M. Allen, having been named to me for appointment under the tax law. The latter particularly has been my friend, and I am sorry to learn that he is not yours. No appointment has been or will be made by me for the purpose of stabbing you. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., July 3, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe:
What news if any have you from General Burnside?
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 28, 1862.

GOVERNORS OF ALL LOYAL STATES:

It would be of great service here for us to know, as fully as you can tell, what progress is made and making in recruiting for old regiments in your State. Also about what day the first regiment can move with you, what the second, what the third and so on? This information is important to us in making calculations. Please give it as promptly and accurately as you can. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 12, 1862.

GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg, Penn.:

It is very important for some regiments to arrive here at once. What lack you from us? What can we do to expedite matters? Answer. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 14, 1862.

Officer in charge of Confederate prisoners at Camp Chase, Ohio:

It is believed that a Dr. J. J. Williams is a prisoner in your charge, and if so tell him his wife is here and allow him to telegraph to her. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 15, 1862.

HON. JAMES DIXON, Hartford, Conn.:
Come here. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 15, 1862.

Officer having prisoners in charge at Camp Douglass, near Chicago, Ill.:

Is there a prisoner Dr. Joseph J. Williams? and if so tell him his wife is here and allow him to telegraph her. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 16, 1862.

HON. HIRAM BARNEY, New York:

Mrs. L. has $1,000 for the benefit of the hospitals and she will be obliged, and send the pay if you will be so good as to select and send her $200 worth of good lemons and $100 worth of good oranges.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 18, 1862.

S. B. MOODY, Springfield, Ill.:

Which do you prefer commissary or quartermaster? If appointed it must be without conditions.

A. LINCOLN.

Operator please send above for President.

JOHN HAY.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 20, 1862.

GOVERNOR ANDREW, Boston, Mass.:

Neither the Secretary of War nor I know anything except what you tell us about the "published official document" you mention.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 21, 1862.

MRS. MARGARET PRESTON, Lexington, Ky.:

Your dispatch to Mrs. L. received yesterday. She is not well. Owing to her early and strong friendship for you, I would gladly oblige you, but I cannot absolutely do it. If General Boyle and Hon. James Guthrie, one or both, in their discretion, see fit to give you the passes, this is my authority to them for doing so.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 21, 1862.

GILLET F. WATSON, Williamsburg, Va.:

Your telegram in regard to the lunatic asylum has been received. It is certainly a case of difficulty, but if you cannot remain, I cannot conceive who under my authority can. Remain as long as you safely can, and provide as well as you can for the poor inmates of the institution.

A. LINCOLN.

August 27, 1862—4.30 p. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Falmouth, Va.:

Do you hear anything from Pope? A. LINCOLN.

August 28, 1862—2.40 p. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Falmouth, Va.:

Any news from General Pope? A. LINCOLN.

August 28, 1862—2.40 p. m.

COLONEL HAUPT, Alexandria, Va.:

Yours received. How do you learn that the rebel forces at Manassas are large and commanded by several of their best generals? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 29, 1862—2.30 p. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Falmouth, Va.:

Any further news? Does Colonel Devin mean that sound of firing was heard in direction of Warrenton as stated, or in direction of Warrenton Junction? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 30, 1862—10.20 a. m.

COLONEL HAUPT, Alexandria, Va.:

What news? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
August 30, 1862—3.50 p. m.

COLONEL HAUPT, Alexandria, Va.:

Please send me the latest news. A. LINCOLN.

August 30, 1862—8.35 p. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS, Manassas Junction, Va.:

Please tell me what news. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 17, 1862.

GOVERNOR O. P. MORTON, Indianapolis, Ind.:

I have received your dispatch in regard to recommendations of General Wright. I have received no such dispatch from him, at least not that I can remember. I refer yours for General Halleck's consideration. A. LINCOLN.

Telegraph office please transmit as above and oblige the President.

JOHN HAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, September 18, 1862.

HONORABLE SECRETARY OF WAR.

SIR: The attached paper is said to contain a list of civilians imprisoned at Salisbury, N. C. Please preserve it.

Yours, truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(From War Records, Vol. IV., Series III.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 20, 1862.

GENERAL KETCHUM, Springfield, Ill.:

How many regiments are there in Illinois, ready for service but for the want of arms? How many arms have you there ready for distribution?

A. LINCOLN.

MCCLELLAN'S HEADQUARTERS, October 3, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK.

General Stuart, of the rebel army, has sent in a few of our prisoners under a flag of truce, paroled with terms to prevent their fighting the Indians, and evidently seeking to commit us to their right to parole our prisoners in that way. My inclination is to send the prisoners back with a distinct notice that we will recognize no paroles given to our prisoners by rebels as extending beyond the prohibition against fighting them, yet I wish your opinion upon it based both upon the general law and our cartel. I wish to avoid violations of law and bad faith. Answer as quickly as possible, as the thing if done at all should be done at once.

A. LINCOLN,
President.

(From War Records, Vol. IV., Series III.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 7, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN, Headquarters Army of the Potomac:

You wish to see your family and I wish to oblige you. It might be left to your own discretion, certainly so, if Mrs. M. could meet you here at Washington.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 9, 1862.

MORTON MCMICHAEL, Office "North American," Philadelphia, Pa.:

The letter alluded to in your dispatch of yesterday has not been received. A. LINCOLN.

Operator please send above and oblige. A. L.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 12, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Would the completion of the railroad some distance further in the direction of Springfield, Mo., be of any military advantage to you? Please answer. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., October 16, 1862.

GOVERNOR PIERPOINT, Wheeling, Va.:

Your dispatch of to-day received. I am very sorry to have offended you. I appointed the collector as I thought, on your written recommendation, and the assessor also with your testimony of worthiness, although I know you preferred a different man. I will examine to-morrow whether I am mistaken in this.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 21, 1862.

GENERAL JAMESON, Upper Stillwater, Me.:

How is your health now? Do you or not wish Lieut. R. P. Crawford to be restored to his office? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 23, 1862.

HON. F. H. PIERPOINT, Wheeling, Va.:

Your letter of the 17th just received. When you come to Washington, I shall be pleased to show you the record upon which we acted. Nevertheless answer this, distinctly saying you wish Ross and Ritcher, or any other two you do really want and they shall be appointed. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 23, 1862.

BEN. FIELD, ESQ., Astor House:

Your letter of 20th received. Think your request cannot safely be granted. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 29, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Your dispatches of night before last, yesterday, and last night all received. I am much pleased with the movement of the army. When you get entirely across the river let me know. What do you know of the enemy? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 30, 1862.

GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg:

By some means I have not seen your dispatch of the 27th about Order No. 154, till this moment. I now learn what I knew nothing of before, that the history of the order is as follows, to-wit: General McClellan telegraphed asking General Halleck to have the order made, General Halleck went to the Secretary of War with it, stating his approval of the plan. The Secretary assented and General Halleck wrote the order. It was a military question which the Secretary supposed the generals understood better than he. I wish I could see Governor Curtin. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 5, 1862.

HON. M. F. ODELL, Brooklyn, N. Y.:

You are re-elected. I wish to see you at once. Will you come? Please answer. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 7, 1862.

COL. W. W. LOWE, Fort Henry, Tenn.:

Yours of yesterday received. Governor Johnson, Mr. Ethridge and others are looking after the very thing you telegraph about.
A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., November 14, 1862.

HON. F. P. BLAIR, JR., Saint Louis, Mo.:

Please telegraph me the result of the election in Missouri on Congress and Legislature. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 17, 1862.

ROBERT A. MAXWELL, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Your dispatch of to-day received. I do not at all understand it.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 26, 1862.

HON. GEORGE ROBERTSON, Lexington, Ky.:

I mail you a short letter to-day. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WASHINGTON, November 30, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Frank Blair wants Manter's Thirty-second, Curly's Twenty-seventh, Boyd's Twenty-fourth and the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry to go with him down the river. I understand it is with you to decide whether he shall have them and if so, and if also it is consistent with the public service you will oblige me a good deal by letting him have them. A. LINCOLN.

Judge Advocate General, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Dec. 1, 1862.

JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL.

SIR: Three hundred Indians have been sentenced to death in Minnesota by a Military Commission, and execution only awaits my action. I wish your legal opinion whether if I should conclude to execute only a part of them, I must myself designate which, or could I leave the designation to some officer on the ground?

Yours very truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original in Archives of Treasury Dept. Loaned by M. E. Ailes, Washington, D. C.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 7, 1862.

HON. H. J. RAYMOND, Times Office, New York:

Yours of November 25, reached me only yesterday. Thank you for it. I shall consider and remember your suggestions.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 7, 1862.

HON. B. GRATZ BROWN, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Yours of the 3d received yesterday. Have already done what I can in the premises. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 8, 1862.

GOVERNOR ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

Jesse H. Strickland is here asking authority to raise a regiment of Tennesseeans. Would you advise that the authority be given him? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 10, 1862.

HON. J. K. DUBOIS:

MY DEAR SIR: In the summer of 1859 when Mr. Freeman visited Springfield, Illinois, in relation to the McCallister & Stebbin's bonds I promised him that, upon certain conditions, I would ask the members of the Legislature to give him a full and fair hearing of his case. I do not now remember, nor have I time to recall, exactly what the conditions were, nor whether they were completely performed; but there can be, in no case, any harm in his having a full and fair hearing, and I sincerely wish it may be given him.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by the Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 14, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

If my friend Dr. William Fithian, of Danville, Ill., should call on you, please give him such facilities as you consistently can about recovering the remains of a step-son and matters connected therewith. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 14, 1862.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Please come to Washington so soon as you conveniently can.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

JOHN G. NICOLAY, Headquarters:

What news have you? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 16, 1862.

BRIG. GEN. H. H. SIBLEY, Saint Paul, Minn.:

As you suggest let the executions fixed for Friday the 19th instant, be postponed to, and be done on Friday the 26th instant.
A. LINCOLN.

Private.

Operator please send this very carefully and accurately.

A. L.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 16, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

N. W. Watkins, of Jackson, Mo., (who is half brother to Henry Clay) writes me that a colonel of ours has driven him from his home at Jackson. Will you please look into the case and restore the old man to his home if the public interest will admit?

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., December 16, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Falmouth:

Your dispatch about General Stahel is received. Please ascertain from General Sigel and his old corps whether Stahel or Schurz is preferable and telegraph the result and I will act immediately. After all I shall be governed by your preference. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
December 17, 1862.

ABRAHAM C. CORSEY, of Seventh Illinois Volunteers, Grand Junction, Miss.:

Your dispatch of yesterday received. Not now.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 17, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS:

Could the civil authority be reintroduced into Missouri in lieu of the military to any extent, with advantage and safety?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 17, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE:

George Patten says he was a class-mate of yours and was in the same regiment of artillery. Have you a place you would like to put him in? and if so what is it?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 18, 1862.

GOVERNOR GAMBLE, Saint Louis, Mo.:

It is represented to me that the enrolled militia alone would now maintain law and order in all the counties of your State north of the Missouri River. If so all other forces there might be removed south of the river, or out of the State. Please post yourself and give me your opinion upon the subject. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 19, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Hon. —— Hall, M. C., here tells me, and Governor Gamble telegraphs me that quiet can be maintained in all the counties north of the Missouri River by the enrolled militia. Confer with Governor Gamble and telegraph me. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 21, 1862.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Continental Hotel:

Do not come on the night train. It is too cold. Come in the morning. A. LINCOLN.

Please send above and oblige the President. JOHN HAY,
A. P. S.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 27, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Let the order in regard to Dr. McPheters and family be suspended until you hear from me again. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
December 27, 1862.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR GAMBLE:

I do not wish to leave the country north of the Missouri to the care of the enrolled militia except upon the concurrent judgment of yourself and General Curtis. His I have not yet obtained. Confer with him, and I shall be glad to act when you and he agree.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 31, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe, Va.:

I hear not a word about the Congressional election of which you and I corresponded. Time nearly up. A. LINCOLN.

Private. EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 31, 1862.

HON. H. J. RAYMOND:

The proclamation cannot be telegraphed to you until during the day to-morrow. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

Private. EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 31, 1862.

HON. HORACE GREELEY:

The proclamation cannot be telegraphed to you until during the day to-morrow. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

Caleb Russell.
Sallie A. Fenton.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 5, 1863.

MY GOOD FRIENDS:

The Honorable Senator Harlan has just placed in my hands your letter of the 27th of December, which I have read with pleasure and gratitude.

It is most cheering and encouraging for me to know that in the efforts which I have made and am making for the restoration of a righteous peace to our country, I am upheld and sustained by the good wishes and prayers of God's people. No one is more deeply than myself aware that without His favor our highest wisdom is but as foolishness and that our most strenuous efforts would avail nothing in the shadow of His displeasure.

I am conscious of no desire for my country's welfare that is not in consonance with His will, and of no plan upon which we may not ask His blessing. It seems to me that if there be one subject upon which all good men may unitedly agree, it is imploring the gracious favor of the God of Nations upon the struggles our people are making for the preservation of their precious birthright of civil and religious liberty.

Very truly your friend,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mr. John Dugdale, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 7, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Do Richmond papers of 6th say nothing about Vicksburg or if anything, what? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 23, 1863.

GENERAL BURNSIDE:

Will see you any moment when you come. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 28, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Lowell, Mass:

Please come here immediately. Telegraph me about what time you will arrive. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., January 29, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Do Richmond papers have anything from Vicksburg?
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., January 30, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe, Va.:

What iron-clads if any have gone out of Hampton Roads within the last two days? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., January 31, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Corcoran's and Pryor's battle terminated. Have you any news through Richmond papers or otherwise? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., January 31, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Md.:

I do not take jurisdiction of the pass question. Exercise your own discretion as to whether Judge Pettis shall have a pass.
A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 1, 1863.

GOVERNOR O. P. MORTON, Indianapolis, Ind.:

I think it would not do for me to meet you at Harrisburg. It would be known and would be misconstrued a thousand ways. Of course if the whole truth could be told and accepted as truth, it would do no harm, but that is impossible. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

War Department,
Washington, D. C., February 4, 1863.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Md.:

I hear of some difficulty in the streets of Baltimore yesterday. What is the amount of it? A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 13, 1863.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Harrisburg, Pa.:

General Clay is here and I suppose the matter we spoke of will have to be definitely settled now. Please answer.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., February 19, 1863.

William H. Herndon, Springfield, Ill.:

Would you accept a job of about a month's duration at Saint Louis, $5 a day and mileage? Answer. A. Lincoln.

(Cypher)

War Department,
Washington, D. C., February 26, 1863.

Hon. J. K. Dubois, Springfield, Ill.:

General Rosecrans respectedly urges the appointment of William P. Caslin as a brigadier-general. What say you now?

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 27, 1863.

Alfred Russell, Charles Dickey, Detroit, Mich.:

The bill you mention in your dispatch of yesterday was approved and signed on the 24th of this month. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 27, 1863.

Major-General Hooker:

If it will be no detriment to the service I will be obliged for Capt. Henry A. Marchant, of Company I, Twenty-third Pennsylvania Volunteers, to come here and remain four or five days.

A. Lincoln.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 5, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER, Commanding Army of the Potomac:

For business purposes I have extended the leave of absence of Capt. Henry A. Marchant, Twenty-third Pennsylvania Volunteers, five days, hoping that it will not interfere with the public service. Please notify the regiment to-day. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 9, 1863.

GOVERNOR DAVID TOD, Columbus, Ohio:

I think your advice with that of others would be valuable in the selection of provost-marshals for Ohio. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 13, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

General Stahel wishes to be assigned to General Heintzelman and General Heintzelman also desires it. I would like to oblige both if it would not injure the service in your army, or incommode you. What say you? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 16, 1863.

HON. J. O. MORTON, Joliet, Ill.:

William Chumasero is proposed for provost-marshal of your district. What think you of it? I understand he is a good man.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Murfreesborough, Tenn.:

Your telegram of yesterday just received. I write you more fully than I could communicate by the wires. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 25, 1863.

MR. BENJAMIN GRATZ, Lexington, Ky.:

Show this to whom it may concern as your authority for allowing Mrs. Shelby to remain at your house, so long as you choose to be responsible for what she may do. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 25, 186[illegible].

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Murfreesborough, Tenn.:

Your dispatches about General Davis and General Mitchell are received. General Davis' case is not particular, being simply one of a great many recommended and not nominated, because they would transcend the number allowed by law. General Mitchell nominated and rejected by the Senate and I do not think it proper for me to re-nominate him without a change of circumstances such as the performance of additional service, or an expressed change of purpose on the part of at least some Senators who opposed him.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 3, 1863.

GOVERNOR A. G. CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pa.:

After next Tuesday the President will be here.

JOHN G. NICOLAY.

COLONEL SANFORD:

Please send above telegram. Yours,

JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 3, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Our plan is to pass Saturday night on the boat, go over from Acquia Creek to your camp Sunday morning, remain with you till Tuesday morning and then return. Our party will probably not exceed six persons of all sorts.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 11, 1863.

Officer in Command at Nashville, Tenn.:

Is there a soldier by the name of John R. Minnick of Wynkoop's cavalry under sentence of death, by a court martial or military commission, in Nashville? And if so what was his offense, and when is he to be executed?

A. LINCOLN.

If necessary let the execution be staid till I can be heard from again.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, April 23, 1863.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Telegraph me the name of your candidate for West Point.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, April 23, 1863.

HON. S. P. CHASE, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Telegraph me the name of your candidate for West Point.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 29, 1863.

HON. W. A. NEWELL, Allentown, N. J.:

I have some trouble about provost-marshal in your first district. Please procure Hon. Mr. Starr to come with you and see me, or come to an agreement with him and telegraph me the result.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 4, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Our friend General Sigel claims that you owe him a letter. If you so remember please write him at once. He is here.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 5, 1863.

HON. O. M. HATCH, Springfield, Ill.:

Your dispatch of March 9th recommending provost-marshals, reads 9th District Benj. F. Weist, Pittsfield, Ill. Should it not be Benj. F. Westlake? Answer.

JNO. G. NICOLAY.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, May 11, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX:

Do the Richmond papers have anything about Grand Gulf or Vicksburg?

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

War Department,
Washington City, May 11, 1863.

Major-General Butterfield:

About what distance is it from the observatory we stopped at last Thursday, to the line of enemies works you ranged the glass upon for me?

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, May 12, 1863.

Governor Seymour, Albany, N. Y.:

Dr. Swinburne and Mr. Gillett are here having been refused, as they say, by the War Department, permission to go to the Army of the Potomac. They now appeal to me saying you wish them to go. I suppose they have been excluded by a rule which experience has induced the department to deem proper, still they shall have leave to go, if you say you desire it. Please answer.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, May 13, 1863.

Dr. A. G. Henry, Metropolitan Hotel, New York:

Governor Chase's feelings were hurt by my action in his absence. Smith is removed, but Governor Chase wishes to name his successor, and asks a day or two to make the designation.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington City, May 16, 1863.

Hon. James Guthrie, Louisville, Ky.:

Your dispatch of to-day is received. I personally know nothing of Colonel Churchill, but months ago and more than once he has been represented to me as exerting a mischievous influence at Saint Louis, for which reason I am unwilling to force his continuance there against the judgment of our friends on the ground, but if it will oblige you, he may come to, and remain at Louisville upon taking the oath of allegiance, and your pledge for his good behavior.

A. Lincoln.

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

War Department, Washington City, May 16, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My Dear Sir: The commander of the Department at St. Louis has ordered several persons south of our military lines, which order

is not disapproved by me. Yet at the special request of Hon. James Guthrie I have consented to one of the number, Samuel Churchill, remaining at Louisville, Ky., upon condition of his taking the oath of allegiance and Mr. Guthrie's word of honor for his good behavior.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, May 21, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Cincinnati, Ohio:

In the case of Thomas M. Campbell, convicted as a spy, let execution of the sentence be respited until further order from me, he remaining in custody meanwhile. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE:

Please acknowledge receipt of above telegram and time of delivery. THO. T. ECKERT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 22, 1863.

GENERAL QUINCY A. GILMORE, New York City:

The President of the United States desires that you shall come here to see him on your way to Kentucky.

JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 24, 1863—10.40 p. m.

ANSON STAGER, Cleveland, Ohio:

Late last night Fuller telegraphed you, as you say, that "the stars and stripes float over Vicksburg and the victory is complete." Did he know what he said, or did he say it without knowing it? Your dispatch of this afternoon throws doubt upon it.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 25, 1863.

COLONEL HAGGARD, Nashville, Tenn.:

Your dispatch to Green Adams had just been shown to me. General Rosecrans knows better than we can know here, who should be in charge of the Fifth Cavalry. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 26, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Your dispatch about Campbell, Lyle and others received and postponement ordered by you approved. I will consider and telegraph you again in a few days. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 27, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Md.:

Let the execution of William B. Compton be respited or suspended till further order from me, holding him in safe custody meanwhile. On receiving this notify me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 27, 1863.

GOVERNOR BUCKINGHAM, Hartford, Conn.:

The execution of Warren Whitemarch is hereby respited or suspended until further order from me, he to be held in safe custody meanwhile. On receiving this notify me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 28, 1863.

HON. ERASTUS CORNING, Albany, N. Y.:

The letter of yourself and others dated the 19th and inclosing the resolutions of a public meeting held at Albany on the 16th was received night before last. I shall give the resolutions the consideration you ask, and shall try to find time and make a respectful response. Your obedient servant,
A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 1, 1863.

COLONEL LUDLOW, Fort Monroe:

Richardson and Brown, correspondents of the Tribune captured at Vicksburg, are detained at Richmond. Please ascertain why they are detained, and get them off if you can. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 2, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

It is said that Philip Margraf, in your army, is under sentence to be shot on Friday the 5th instant as a deserter. If so please send me up the record of his case at once. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 4, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Let execution of sentences in the cases of Daily, Margraff and Harrington, be respited till further order from me, they remaining in close custody meanwhile. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 4, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTTERFIELD:

The news you send me from the Richmond Sentinel of the 3d must be greatly if not wholly incorrect. The Thursday mentioned was the 28th, and we have dispatches here directly from Vicksburg of the 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st, and while they speak of the siege progressing, they speak of no assault or general fighting whatever, and in fact they so speak as to almost exclude the idea that there can have been any since Monday the 25th, which was not very heavy. Neither do they mention any demand made by Grant upon Pemberton for a surrender. They speak of our troops as being in good health, condition and spirits. Some of them do say that Banks has Port Hudson invested. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 5, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Would you like to have Capt. Treadwell Moore, now in California, to report to you for duty? A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6, 1863.

MRS. ELIZABETH J. GRIMSLEY, Springfield, Ill.:

Is your John ready to enter the Naval school? If he is telegraph me his full name. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe, Va.:

By noticing the news you send from the Richmond Dispatch of this morning you will see one of the very latest dispatches says they have nothing reliable from Vicksburg since Sunday. Now we here have a dispatch from there of Sunday and others of almost every day preceding since the investment, and while they show the siege progressing they do not show any general fighting since the 21st and 22d. We have nothing from Port Hudson later than the 29th when things looked reasonably well for us. I have thought this might be of some interest to you. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe:

We have dispatches from Vicksburg of the 3d. Siege progressing. No general fighting recently. All well. Nothing new from Port Hudson. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Fort Monroe:

The substance of the news sent of fight at Port Hudson on the 27th we have had here three or four days, and I supposed you had it also, when I said this morning, "No news from Port Hudson." We knew that General Sherman was wounded, but we hoped not so dangerously as your dispatch represents. We still have nothing of that Richmond newspaper story of Kirby Smith crossing and of Banks losing an arm. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 9, 1863.

HON. JOHN P. HALE, Dover, N. H.:

I believe that it was upon your recommendation that B. B. Bunker was appointed attorney for Nevada Territory. I am pressed to remove him on the ground that he does not attend to the office, nor in fact pass much time in the Territory. Do you wish to say anything on the subject? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 9, 1863.

MRS. LINCOLN, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Think you had better put "Tad's" pistol away. I had an ugly dream about him. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 9, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

I am told there are 50 incendiary shells here at the arsenal made to fit the 100-pounder Parrott gun now with you. If this be true would you like to have the shells sent to you?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 11, 1863.

MRS. LINCOLN, Philadelphia:

Your three dispatches received. I am very well and am glad to know that you and "Tad" are so. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 12, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

If you can show me a trial of the Incendiary shells on Saturday night I will try to join you at 5 p. m. that day. Answer.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 13, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

I was coming down this afternoon, but if you would prefer I should not, I shall blame you if you do not tell me so.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 14, 1863.

GENERAL TYLER, Martinsburg:

Is Molroy invested, so that he cannot fall back to Harper's Ferry? A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 14, 1863.

GENERAL TYLER, Martinsburg:

If you are besieged how do you dispatch me? Why did you not leave before being besieged? A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 14, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL KELLEY, Harper's Ferry:

Are the forces at Winchester and Martinsburg making any effort to get to you? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
June 15, 1863.

MRS. LINCOLN, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Tolerably well. Have not rode out much yet, but have at last got new tires on the carriage wheels and perhaps shall ride out soon. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 16, 1863—5.35 p. m.

GENERAL TYLER, Harper's Ferry:

Please answer as soon as you can the following inquiries which General Hooker makes. A. LINCOLN.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., June 16, 1863.

Horrace Binney, Jr., Philadelphia:

I sent General Cadwallader some hours ago to the Secretary of War, and general-in-chief with the question you ask. I have not heard the result. A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., June 16, 1863.

Frederick Kapp and Others, New York:

The Governor of New York promises to send us troops and if he wishes the assistance of General Frémont and General Sigel, one or both, he can have it. If he does not wish them it would but breed confusion for us to set them to work independently of him.
A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., June 16, 1863.

General T. Francis Meagher, New York:

Your dispatch received. Shall be very glad for you to raise 3,000 Irish troops if done by the consent of, and in concert with Governor Seymour. A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington City, D. C., June 16, 1863.

Mrs. Lincoln, Philadelphia:

It is a matter of choice with yourself whether you come home. There is no reason why you should not, that did not exist when you went away. As bearing on the question of your coming home, I do not think the raid into Pennsylvania amounts to anything at all. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 16, 1863.

Col. William S. Bliss, New York Hotel:

Your dispatch asking whether I will accept "the Loyal Brigade of the North" is received. I never heard of that brigade by name and do not know where it is, yet presuming it is in New York, I say I will gladly accept it, if tendered by and with the consent and approbation of the Governor of that State. Otherwise not. A. Lincoln.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Mr. Eckert, superintendent in the telegraph office, assures me that he has sent, and will send you everything that comes to the office. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 18, 1863.

JOSHUA TEVIS, ESQ., U. S. Attorney, Frankfort, Ky.:

A Mr. Buckner is here showing a record and asking to be discharged from a suit in San Francisco, as bail for one Thompson. Unless the record shown me is defectively made out I think it can be successfully defended against. Please examine the case carefully, and if you shall be of opinion it cannot be sustained, dismiss it and relieve me from all trouble about it. Please answer.
A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 18, 1863.

GOVERNOR D. TOD, Columbus, Ohio:

Yours received. I deeply regret that you were not renominated, not that I have aught against Mr. Brough. On the contrary like yourself, I say hurrah for him. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 18, 1863.

GENERAL A. DINGMAN, Belleville, C. W.:

Thanks for your offer of the Fifteenth Battalion. I do not think Washington is in danger. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 21, 1863.

GENERAL SCHOFIELD, Saint Louis, Mo.:

I write you to-day in answer to your dispatch of yesterday. If you cannot await the arrival by mail telegraph me again.
A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 23, 1863.

MAJOR VANVLIET, New York:

Have you any idea what the news is in the dispatch of General Banks to General Halleck? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
June 24, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL COUCH, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Have you any reports of the enemy moving into Pennsylvania? And if any what?

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, June 24, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Yorktown, Va.:

We have a dispatch from General Grant of the 19th. Don't think Kirby Smith took Milliken's Bend since, allowing time to get the news to Joe Johnston and from him to Richmond. But it is not absolutely impossible. Also have news from Banks to the 16th, I think. He had not run away then, nor thought of it.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 25, 1863.

GENERAL PECK, Suffolk, Va.:

Colonel Derrom, of the Twenty-fifth New Jersey Volunteers, now mustered out, says there is a man in your hands under conviction for desertion, who formerly belonged to the above named regiment, and whose name is Templeton, Isaac F. Templeton, I believe. The colonel and others appeal to me for him. Please telegraph to me what is the condition of the case, and if he has not been executed send me the record of the trial and conviction.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 25, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SLOCUM, Leesburg, Va.:

Was William Gruvier, Company A, Forty-sixth Pennsylvania, one of the men executed as a deserter last Friday?

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WASHINGTON, June 26, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Cincinnati, Ohio:

What is the case of "William Waller," at Maysville, Ky.?

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 27, 1863—8 a. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

It did not come from the newspapers, nor did I believe it but I wished to be entirely sure it was a falsehood. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 28, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Cincinnati, Ohio:

There is nothing going on in Kentucky on the subject of which you telegraph, except an enrollment. Before anything is done beyond this, I will take care to understand the case better than I now do. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1863.

GOVERNOR J. T. BOYLE, Cincinnati, Ohio:

There is nothing going on in Kentucky on the subject of which you telegraph, except an enrollment. Before anything is done beyond this, I will take care to understand the case better than I now do. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Md.:

Every place in the Naval school subject to my appointment is full and I have one unredeemed promise of more than half a year's standing. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 30, 1863.

GOVERNOR PARKER, Trenton, N. J.:

Your dispatch of yesterday received. I really think the altitude of the enemies army in Pennsylvania presents us the best opportunity we have had since the war began. I think you will not see the foe in New Jersey. I beg you to be assured that no one out of my position can know so well as if he were in it, the difficulties and involvments of replacing General McClellan in command, and this aside from any imputations upon him. Please accept my sincere thanks for what you have done and are doing to get troops forward. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, June 30, 1863.

A. K. MCCLURE, Philadelphia:

Do we gain anything by opening one leak to stop another? Do we gain anything by quieting one clamor merely to open another, and probably a larger one? A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

WASHINGTON CITY, June 30, 1863—3.25 p. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL COUCH, Harrisburg, Pa.:

I judge by absence of news that the enemy is not crossing or pressing up to the Susquehanna. Please tell me what you know of his movements. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 3, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Private Downey, of the Twentieth or Twenty-sixth Kentucky Infantry, is said to have been sentenced to be shot for desertion to-day. If so, respite the execution until I can see the record.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, July 3, 1863.

ROBERT T. LINCOLN, ESQ., Cambridge, Mass.:

Don't be uneasy. Your Mother very slightly hurt by her fall.
A. L.

Please send at once.

(Cypher)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 5, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRENCH, Frederick Town, Md.:

I see your dispatch about destruction of pontoons. Cannot the enemy ford the river? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 7, 1863.

J. K. DUBOIS AND OTHERS, Springfield, Ill.:

An appointment of Chesley at Danville had already been made and gone forward for enrollment commissioner of Seventh District when your dispatch arrived. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 8, 1863.

E. DELAFIELD SMITH, New York:

Your kind dispatch on behalf of self and friends is gratefully received. Capture of Vicksburg confirmed by dispatch from General Grant himself. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 8, 1863.

HON. F. F. LOW, San Francisco, Cal.:

There is no doubt that General Meade, now commanding the Army of the Potomac, beat Lee at Gettysburg, Pa., at the end of a three days' battle, and that the latter is now crossing the Potomac at Williamsport over the swollen stream and with poor means of crossing, and closely pressed by Meade. We also have dispatches rendering it entirely certain that Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant on the glorious old 4th. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., July 9, 1863.

HON. LEONARD SWETT, HON. F. F. LOW, San Francisco, Cal.:

Consult together and do not have a riot, or great difficulty about delivering possession. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, July 11, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Md.:

How many rebel prisoners captured within Maryland and Pennsylvania have reached Baltimore within this month of July?
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, July 11, 1863.

R. T. LINCOLN, New York, Fifth Avenue Hotel:
Come to Washington. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 12, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Md.:

You seem to misunderstand the nature of the objection to General Tremble's going to Baltimore. His going there is opposed to prevent his meeting his traitorous associates there.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 14, 1863.

ROBERT T. LINCOLN, New York, Fifth Avenue Hotel:
Why do I hear no more of you? A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, July 15, 1863.

HON. L. SWETT, San Francisco, Cal.:

Many persons are telegraphing me from California, begging me for the peace of the State to suspend the military enforcement of the writ of possession in the Almedan case, while you are the single one who urges the contrary. You know I would like to oblige you, but it seems to me my duty in this case is the other way. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, July 15, 1863.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Your dispatch of yesterday received. Lee was already across the river when you sent it. I would give much to be relieved of the impression that Meade, Couch, Smith, and all since the battle at Gettysburg, have striven only to get Lee over the river without another fight. Please tell me, if you know, who was the one corps commander who was for fighting in the council of war on Sunday night. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 15, 1863.

ROBERT A. MAXWELL, 1032 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia:

Your dispatch of to-day is received, but I do not understand it. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 18, 1863.

GOVERNOR O. P. MORTON, Indianapolis:

What do you remember about the case of John O. Brown, convicted of mutinous conduct and sentenced to death? What do you desire about it? A. LINCOLN.

NEW YORK, July 28, 1863.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, New York:

Bob went to Fort Monroe and only got back to-day. Will start to you at 11 a. m. to-morrow. All well. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, July 30, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Please suspend execution of Peter Schalowsky, Company B, Forty-fifth New York Regiment Volunteers, till further order and send me record of his conviction. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 3, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL FOSTER, (or whoever may be in command of the military department with headquarters at Fort Monroe, Va.:)

If Dr. Wright on trial at Norfolk, has been or shall be convicted, send me a transcript of his trial and conviction and do not let execution be done upon him until my further order.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 4, 1863.

HON. JOHN A. BINGHAM, Cadiz, Ohio:

It is indispensable for us to have a judge at Key West as soon as possible. Please inform me whether you will go.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 5, 1863.

Cincinnati Gazette:

Please send me your present posting as to Kentucky election.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 15, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL FOSTER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

I think you are right in placing "little reliance in the report," still the question is so interesting that I would like to know if the captain of the *Hudson* gave any particulars how he got his news and the like. Please answer. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 17, 1863.

GENERAL W. K. STRONG, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Please send me a transcript of the record in the case McQuin and Bell, under sentence of death by a commission of which you were the head. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 17, 1863.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

The appointment of Colonel Gillam to be a brigadier-general has been ordered. A. LINCOLN.

(Private.)

Hon. James Conkling.

War Department,
Washington City, D. C., August 17, 1863.

My Dear Conkling: I cannot leave here now. Herewith is a letter instead. You are one of the best public readers. I have but one suggestion—read it very slowly. And now God bless you, and all good Union men. Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

(From Herndon's "Life of Lincoln." Permission of Jesse Weik.)

(Cypher) War Department,
Washington, D. C., August 20, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling, Springfield, Ill.:

Your letter of the 14th is received. I think I will go or send a letter, probably the latter. A. Lincoln.

(Cypher) War Department,
Washington, D. C., August 20, 1863.

General A. J. Hamilton, (of Texas) New York:

Telegraph me the name of a boy or young man who you would like to have appointed to West Point. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 21, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Warrenton, Va.:

At this late moment I am appealed to in behalf of William Thompson of Company K, Third Maryland Volunteers, in Twelfth Army Corps, said to be at Kelly's Ford, under sentence to be shot to-day as a deserter. He is represented to me to be very young, with symptoms of insanity. Please postpone the execution till further order. A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., August 22, 1863.

General Schofield, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Please send me if you can a transcript of the record in the case of McQuin and Bell, convicted of murder by a military commission. I telegraphed General Strong for it, but he does not answer.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., August 24, 1863.

Mrs. Elizabeth J. Grimsley, Springfield, Ill.:

I mail the papers to you to-day appointing Johnny to the Naval school. A. Lincoln.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 28, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL FOSTER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Please notify, if you can, Senator Bowden, Mr. Segar, and Mr. Chandler, all, or any of them, that I now have the record in Dr. Wright's case and am ready to hear them. When you shall have got the notice to them please let me know. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 28, 1863.

GENERAL CRAWFORD, Rappahannock Station, Va.:

I regret that I cannot be present to witness the presentation of a sword by the gallant Pennsylvania Reserve Corps to one so worthy to receive it as General Meade. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 29, 1863.

HON. L. SWETT, San Francisco, Cal.:

If the Government's rights are reserved, the Government will be satisfied, and at all events it will consider. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 29, 1863.

BEN. FIELD, ESQ., Syracuse, N. Y.:

I send you by mail to-day a copy of the Springfield letter.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 29, 1863.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Manchester, N. H.:

All quite well. Fort Sumter is *certainly* battered down and utterly useless to the enemy, and it is *believed* here, but not entirely certain that both Sumter and Fort Wagner are occupied by our forces. It is also certain that General Gilmore has thrown some shot into the city of Charleston. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 31, 1863.

HON. JAMES C. CONKLING, Springfield, Ill.:

In my letter of the 26th insert between the sentence ending "since the issue of the emancipation proclamation as before" and the next commencing "You say you will not fight, &c.," what follows below my signature hereto. A. LINCOLN.

"I know as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy, and the use of colored troops, constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of those important successes, could not have been achieved when it was, but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called abolitionism, or with Republican party politics, but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit these opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections, often urged, that emancipation, and arming the blacks, are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith."

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1863.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL LAUCK, Munfordsville, Ky.:

Let the execution of Thomas E. Coleman and Charles Johns, be suspended until further order from here. Acknowledge receipt of this. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1863.

COL. A. G. HOBSON, Bowling Green, Ky.:

I have telegraphed Lieutenant-Colonel Lauck, at Munfordsville, to suspend the execution of Coleman and Johns until further order from here. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1863.

H. B. WILSON AND OTHERS, Camden N. J.:

Will grant you an interview on Wednesday or sooner.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 3, 1863.

HON. JAMES C. CONKLING, Springfield, Ill.:

I am mortified this morning to find the letter to you botched up in the Eastern papers, telegraphed from Chicago. How did this happen? A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 3, 1863.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Manchester, Vt.:

The Secretary of War tells me he has telegraphed General Doubleday to await further orders. We are all well and have nothing new. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 5, 1863.

HON. JOSEPH SEGAR, Fort Monroe, Va.:

I have just seen your dispatch to the Secretary of War, who is absent. I also send a dispatch from Major Hayner of the 3d showing that he had notice of my order, and stating that the people were jubilant over it, as a victory over the Government extorted by fear, and that he had already collected about 4,000 of the money. If he has proceeded since I shall hold him accountable for his contumacy. On the contrary no dollar shall be refunded by my order until it shall appear that my act in the case has been accepted in the right spirit. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 6, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore:

The Secretary of War is absent. Please direct or order that the collection of the light house be suspended, and that the money already collected be held, both till further order.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 6, 1863.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Manchester, Vt.:

All well and no news except that General Burnside has Knoxville, Tenn. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 9, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Warrenton, Va.:

It would be a generous thing to give General Wheaton a leave of absence for ten or fifteen days, and if you can do so without injury to the service, please do it. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 10, 1863.

GENERAL WHEATON, Army of Potomac:

Yesterday at the instance of Mr. Blair, senator, I telegraphed General Meade asking him to grant you a leave of absence, to which he replied that you had not applied for such leave, and that you can have it when you do apply. I suppose it is proper for you to know this. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 11, 1863.

VICE PRESIDENT HAMLIN, Bangor, Me.:

Your letter of August 22, to be presented by your son Cyrus is on my table, but I have not seen him, or know of his being here recently. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 11, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Warrenton, Va.:

It is represented to me that Thomas Edds, in your army, is under sentence of death for desertion, to be executed next Monday. It is also said his supposed desertion is comprised in an absence commencing with his falling behind last winter, being captured and paroled by the enemy, and then going home. If this be near the truth, please suspend the execution till further order and send me the record of the trial. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 12, 1863.

GENERAL GEARY, Kelly's Ford:

Please tell me what you know or believe as to the conduct and disposition of E. Jacquelin Smith, residing near Salem on the Manassas Gap Railroad. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 12, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Warrenton, Va.:

The name is "Thomas Edds" not "Eddies" as in your dispatch. The papers left with me do not designate the regiment to which he belongs. The man who gave me the papers, I do not know how to find again. He only told me that Edds is in the Army of the Potomac, and that he fell out of the ranks during Burnsides' mud march last winter. If I get further information I will telegraph again. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 13, 1863.

HON. J. K. DUBOIS, HON. O. M. HATCH:

What nation do you desire General Allen to be made quartermaster-general of? This nation already has a quartermaster-general. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 13, 1863.

DR. JOHN P. GRAY, Norfolk, Va.:

The names of those whose affidavits are left with me on the question of Dr. Wright's sanity are as follows:

Mrs. Jane C. Bolsom, Mrs. M. E. Smiley, Moses Hudgin, J. D. Ghislin, Jr., Felix Logue, Robert B. Tunstall, M. D., Mrs. Elizabeth Rooks, Dr. E. D. Granier, Thomas K. Murray, William J. Holmes, Miss Margaret E. Wigeon, Mrs. Emily S. Frost.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 13, 1863.

DR. WILLIAM H. H. SCOTT, Danville, Ill.:

Your niece, Mrs. Kate Sharp, can now have no difficulty in going to Knoxville, Tenn., as that place is within our military lines. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 15, 1863.

J. G. BLAINE, Augusta, Me.:

Thanks both for the good news you send and for the sending of it. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 16, 1863.

MRS. J. F. SPEED, Louisville, Ky.:

Mr. Holman will not be jostled from his place with my knowledge and consent. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 16, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Warrenton, Va.:

Is Albert Jones of Company K, Third Maryland Volunteers to be shot on Friday next? If so please state to me the general features of the case. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Md.:

Major Haynor left here several days ago under a promise to put down in writing, in detail the facts in relation to the misconduct of the people on the Eastern shore of Virginia. He has not returned. Please send him over. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Headquarters Army of Potomac:

Yours in relation to Albert Jones is received. I am appealed to in behalf of Richard M. Abrams of Company A, Sixth New Jersey Volunteers, by Governor Parker, Attorney-General Freelinghoysen, Governor Newell, Hon. Mr. Middleton, M. C., of the district and the marshal who arrested him. I am also appealed to in behalf of Joseph S. Smith, of Company A, Eleventh New Jersey Volunteers, by Governor Parker, Attorney-General Freelinghoysen, and Hon. Marcus C. Ward. Please state the circumstances of their cases to me. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 18, 1863.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

Dispatch of yesterday just received. I shall try to find the paper you mention and carefully consider it. In the meantime let me urge that you do your utmost to get every man you can, black and white, under arms at the very earliest moment, to guard roads, bridges and trains, allowing all the better trained soldiers to go forward to Rosecrans. Of course I mean for you to act in co-operation with, and not independently of the military authorities.
A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 18, 1863.

C. M. SMITH, ESQ., Springfield, Ill.:

Why not name him for the general you fancy most? This is my suggestion. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, September 18, 1863.

MRS. HANNAH ARMSTRONG, Petersburg, Ill.:

I have just ordered the discharge of your boy William as you say, now at Louisville, Ky. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 19, 1863.

HUGHEY GALLAGHER, Philadelphia, Pa.:

I know nothing as to John Gallagher. The law does not require this class of cases to come before me, and they do not come unless brought by the friends of the condemned. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 20, 1863.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, New York:

I neither see nor hear anything of sickness here now, though there may be much without my knowing it. I wish you to stay, or come just as is most agreeable to yourself. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 21, 1863.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York:

The air is so clear and cool and apparently healthy that I would be glad for you to come. Nothing very particular but I would be glad to see you and Tad. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 21, 1863.

GOVERNOR PIERPOINT, Alexandria, Va.:

I would be glad to have your opinion whether it would be good policy to refund the money collected from the people of East Virginia, as indemnity for the light house depredation. I believe you once gave me your opinion on the point, but I am not entirely sure. Please answer. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 21, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

I am appealed to in behalf of John H. Williams, Company D, Fourth Regiment Maryland Volunteers, First Corps, who is said to be under sentence of death, to be executed on the 25th for desertion. The appeal is made on the ground of unsoundness of mind. Please give me briefly the facts and your views.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 22, 1863.

MILITARY OFFICER IN COMMAND, Cumberland, Md.:

It is represented to me that one Dennis McCarty, is at Cumberland under sentence of death, but that the time is not yet fixed for his execution. Please answer telling me whether this statement is correct, and also if an order shall come to you for his execution, notify me of it at once by telegraph. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 22, 1863.

HON. O. M. HATCH, HON. J. K. DUBOIS, Springfield, Ill.:

Your letter is just received. The particular form of my dispatch was jocular, which I supposed you gentlemen knew me well enough to understand. General Allen is considered here as a very faithful and capable officer, and one who would be at least thought of for quartermaster-general if that office were vacant. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 22, 1863.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Fifth Avenue House, New York:

Did you receive my dispatch of yesterday? Mrs. Cuthbert did not correctly understand me. I directed her to tell you to use your own pleasure whether to stay or come, and I did not say it is sickly and that you should on no account come. So far as I see or know, it was never healthier, and I really wish to see you. Answer this on receipt. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 23, 1863.

THOMAS DAVIES, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Forward your petition and record of trial immediately. There is time for them to reach before the 1st of next month.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 24, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

I am appealed to in favor of a private (name not remembered) in Company D, First Regiment New Jersey Volunteers, in Sixth Corps, who is said to be under sentence to be shot to-morrow. Please give me briefly the facts of the case, including his age and your opinion on it. A. LINCOLN.

P. S.—Also give me a like statement in the case of Daniel Sullivan, of Thirteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, First Army Corps. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 25, 1863.

GENERAL MCCALLUM, Alexandria, Va.:

I have sent to General Meade, by telegraph, to suspend the execution of Daniel Sullivan of Company E, Thirteenth Massachu-

setts, which was to be to-day, but understanding there is an interruption on the line, may I beg you to send this to him by the quickest mode in your power? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 25, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Md.:

Please send Major Hayner over now. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 25, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Owing to the press in behalf of Daniel Sullivan, Company E, Thirteenth Massachusetts, and the doubt though small, which you express of his guilty intention, I have concluded to say let his execution be suspended till further order, and copy of record sent me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 26, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of the Potomac:

I am appealed to in behalf of Adam Wolf, private in Company H, Thirteenth Massachusetts Regiment. Please answer as you have done in other cases. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 29, 1863.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Indianapolis, Ind.:

Please suspend execution of Adam Davies till further order from me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 30, 1863.

GENERAL SCHOFIELD, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Following dispatch just received:

Union Men Driven Out of Missouri.

LEAVENWORTH, September 29.—Governor Gamble having authorized Colonel Moss, of Liberty, Mo., to arm the men in Platte and Clinton Counties, he has armed mostly the returned rebel soldiers and men under bonds. Moss' men are now driving the Union

men out of Missouri. Over one hundred families crossed the river to-day. Many of the wives of our Union soldiers have been compelled to leave. Four or five Union men have been murdered by Colonel Moss' men.

Please look to this and if true, in whole or part put a stop to it.

A. LINCOLN.

Francis S. Corkran, Baltimore, Md.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Sept. 30, 1863.

HON. FRANCIS S. CORKRAN, Baltimore, Md.

Mrs. L. is now at home and would be pleased to see you any time. If the grape time has not passed away, she would be pleased to join in the enterprise you mention. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Clarence G. Corkran, Lutherville, Md.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., October 1, 1863.

GOVERNOR BRADFORD, Baltimore, Md.:

Please be here in person at 12 m. Saturday to fix up definitely in writing the matter about which Mr. Johnson and Governor Hicks brings a communication from you. A. LINCOLN.

Please repeat to Annapolis. A. L.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 1, 1863.

GENERAL TYLER, Baltimore:

Take care of colored troops in your charge, but do nothing further about that branch of affairs until further orders. Particularly do nothing about General Vickers of Kent County.

A. LINCOLN.

Send a copy to Colonel Birney. A. L.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 1, 1863—4.20 p. m.

THOMAS A. SCOTT, Louisville, Ky.:

Tell me how things have advanced so far as you know.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
October 1, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Let respite of ten days be granted to Herman Barber, alias E. W. Von Heinecke, sentenced to be shot to-morrow for desertion.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Send by telegraph at once.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 3, 1863.

COLONEL BIRNEY, Baltimore, Md.:

Please give me as near as you can, the number of *slaves* you have recruited in Maryland. Of course the number is not to include the free colored. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 3, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Have you a man in jeopardy as a deserter by the name William T. Evers, private in Company D, Brooklyn Fourteenth State Militia, or Eighty-fourth Volunteers? If you have please send me the facts and conditions of his case. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 4, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

I am appealed to in behalf of Daniel Hanson, of Ninety-seventh New York, said to be under sentence of death for desertion. Please inform me as usual. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 5, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Yesterday I inquired of you about Daniel Hanson, private in Ninety-seventh New York, said to be under sentence of death for desertion. I fear you did not receive the dispatch. Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 7, 1863.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn:

What news have you from Rosecrans' army, or in that direction beyond Nashville? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

I am appealed to in behalf of August Blittersdorf, at Mitchell's Station, Va., to be shot to-morrow as a deserter. I am unwilling for any boy under eighteen to be shot, and his father affirms that he is yet under sixteen. Please answer. His regiment or company not given me. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

I am appealed to in behalf of John Murphy, to be shot to-morrow. His mother says he is but seventeen. Please answer.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

The boy telegraphs from Mitchell's Station, Va. The father thinks he is in the One hundred and nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers. The father signs the name "Blittersdorf." I can tell no more. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 11, 1863—9.50 a. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:
How is it now? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 12, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

The father and mother of John Murphy, of the One hundred and nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers, have filed their own affidavits that he was born June 22, 1846, and also the affidavits of three other persons who all swear that they remembered the circumstances of his birth and that it was in the year 1846, though they do not remember the particular day. I therefore on account of his tender age, have concluded to pardon him, and to leave it to yourself, whether to discharge him or continue him in the service. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 13, 1863.

McVEIGH, Philadelphia:

The enemy some days ago made a movement, apparently to turn General Meade's right. This led to a manœuvering of the two armies and to pretty heavy skirmishing on Saturday, Sunday and Monday. We have frequent dispatches from General Meade, and up to 10 o'clock last night nothing had happened giving either side any marked advantage. Our army reported to be in excellent condition. The telegraph is open to General Meade's camp this morning, but we have not troubled him for a dispatch.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 13, 1863.

HON. J. K. MOOREHEAD, Pittsburg, Pa.:

Not unless you think it necessary. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 14, 1863—3.35.

WAYNE McVEIGH, Philadelphia:

How does it stand now? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pa.:

How does it stand? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON CITY, October 15, 1863.

HON. JAMES W. GRIMES, Burlington, Iowa:

Thanks for your Iowa election news. I suppose you know that Pennsylvania and Ohio are all right. Governor Morton telegraphs that county elections in Indiana have gone largely in the same direction. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 15, 1863.

MAJ. HERMAN KEITEZ, Cumberland, Md.:

Suspend execution of Dennis McCarty till further order from here. If McCarty has been removed send this to the officer where he is. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 15, 1863.

L. B. TODD, Lexington, Ky.:
I send the following pass to your care.
A. LINCOLN.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., October 15, 1863.

To whom it may concern:
Allow Mrs. Robert S. Todd, widow, to go South and bring her daughter Mrs. General B. Hardin Helm, with her children north to Kentucky.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 15, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL FOSTER, Fort Monroe, Va.:
Postpone the execution of Dr. Wright to Friday the 23d instant, (October). This is intended for his preparation and is final.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 15, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:
On the 4th instant you telegraphed me that Private Daniel Hanson, of Ninety-seventh New York Volunteers, had not yet been tried. When he shall be, please notify me of the result. with a brief statement of his case, if he be convicted. Gustave Blittersdorf, whom you say is enlisted in the One hundred and nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers, as William Fox, is proven to me to be only fifteen years old last January. I pardon him, and you will discharge him or put him in the ranks at your discretion. Mathias Brown, of Nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers, is proven to me to be eighteen last May, and his friends say he is convicted on an enlistment and for a desertion, both before that time. If this last be true he is pardoned, to be kept or discharged as you please. If not true suspend his execution and report the facts of his case. Did you receive my dispatch of 12th pardoning John Murphy?
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 16, 1863.

HON. S. P. CHASE, Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio:
If Judge Lawrence cannot go to Key West at once, I shall have to appoint another.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 16, 1863.

THOMAS W. SWEENEY, Continental, Philadelphia:

Tad is teasing me to have you forward his pistol to him.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 16, 1863.

T. C. DURANT, New York:

I remember receiving nothing from you of the 10th, and I do not comprehend your dispatch of to-day. In fact I do not remember, if I ever knew who you are, and I have very little conception as to what you are telegraphing about. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 16, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Have you in custody for desertion a man by the name of Jacob Schwarz, a Swiss? If so please send a short statement of his case. Neither his company, regiment or corps is given me.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Knoxville, Tenn.:

I am greatly interested to know how many new troops of all sorts you have raised in Tennessee. Please inform me.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 17, 1863.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Harrisburg, Pa.:

I forgot to notify you that your dispatch of day before yesterday was duly received, and immediately attended to in the best way we could think of. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SLOCUM, Stevenson, Ala.:

Please have a medical examination made of William Brown, private in Company C, Fifth Connecticut Volunteers, and report the result to me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 17, 1863.

HON. WILLIAM B. THOMAS, Philadelphia, Pa.:

I am grateful for your offer of 100,000 men, but as at present advised I do not consider that Washington is in danger, or that there is any emergency requiring 60 or 90 days men.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL FOSTER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

It would be useless for Mrs. Dr. Wright to come here. The subject is a very painful one, but the case is settled. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., October 18, 1863.

T. C. DURANT, New York:

As I do with others, so I will try to see you when you come.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 20, 1863.

COL. DONN PIATT, Baltimore, Md.:

If the young men seem to know anything of importance, send them over. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 20, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE,
BRIG. GEN. J. T. BOYLE, Louisville, Ky.:

Let execution of sentence of Lee W. Long be suspended until further order. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 22, 1863.

MILITARY COMMANDER, Evansville, Ind.:

A certain Major Long, I believe Lee W. Long, is by sentence of court-martial, or military commission, to be executed soon on the 30th instant, I think at Evansville. I have directed execution of the sentence to be suspended till further order. Please act accordingly. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 25, 1863.

GENERAL J. T. BOYLE, Louisville, Ky.:

Let the order suspending the execution of Long apply also to the case of Woolfolk. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 28, 1863.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

If not too inconvenient, please come at once and have a personal conversation with me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 29, 1863.

T. J. CARTER, New York:

I made your appointment yesterday, and the Secretary of the Interior undertook to send it to you. I suppose it will reach you to-day. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 29, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

I see in a newspaper that you have recently approved sentences of death for desertion of Thomas Sands, James Haley, H. H. Williams, Mathias Brown, alias Albert Brown, H. C. Beardsley, and George F. Perkins. Several of these are persons in behalf of whom appeals have been made to me. Please send me a short statement of each one of the cases, stating the age of each, so far as you can.
A. LINCOLN.

Hon. James W. Grimes.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 29, 1863.

HON. JAMES W. GRIMES.

MY DEAR SIR: The above act of congress was passed, as I suppose, for the purpose of shutting out improper applicants for seats in the House of Representatives; and I fear there is some danger that it will be *used* to shut out proper ones. Iowa, having an entire Union delegation, will be one of the States the attempt will be made, if upon any. The Governor doubtless has made out the certificates, and they are already in the hands of the members. I suggest that they come on with them; but that, for greater caution,

you, and perhaps Mr. Harlan with you, consult with the Governor, and have an additional set made out according to the form on the other half of this sheet; and still another set, if you can, by studying the law, think of a form that in your judgment, promises additional security, and quietly bring the whole on with you, to be used in case of necessity. Let what you do be kept still.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Hist. Dept. of Iowa. Loaned by Charles Aldrich, Des Moines, Iowa.)

(Cypher)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 30, 1863.

HON. F. F. LOWE, San Francisco, Cal.:

Below is an act of Congress, passed last session, intended to exclude applicants not entitled to seats, but which there is reason to fear, will be used to exclude some who are entitled. Please get with the Governor and one or two other discreet friends, study the act carefully, and make certificates in two or three forms, according to your best judgment, and have them sent to me, so as to multiply the chances of the delegation getting their seats. Let it be done without publicity. Below is a form which may answer for one. If you could procure the same to be done for the Oregon member it might be well.

A. LINCOLN.

Act to regulate the duties of the clerk of the House of Representatives in preparing for the Organization of the House.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That, before the first meeting of the next Congress, and of every subsequent Congress, the Clerk of the next preceding House of Representatives shall make a roll of the representatives elect and place thereon the names of all persons, and of such persons only, whose credentials show that they were regularly elected in accordance with the laws of their States respectively, or the law of the United States.

Approved March 3, 1863.

By His Excellency.....

Governor of the State of California.

I, ..., Governor of the State of California, do hereby certify and make known that the following persons, namely:

Names. Districts.

have been regularly elected members of the House of Representatives of the United States for the Thirty-eighth Congress, and for

the districts above mentioned, in accordance with the laws of the said State and of the United States, and that they only have been so elected.

IN TESTIMONY THEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the ..... seal of the said State to be affixed.

.....

....., Secretary of State.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 30, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Much obliged for the information about deserters contained in your dispatch of yesterday, while I have to beg your pardon for troubling you in regard to some of them, when, as it appears by yours, I had the means of answering my own questions.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 31, 1863.

HON. ABRAM WAKEMAN, New York:

Hanscom's dispatch just received. Have made careful inquiry as to the truth of assertions you refer to and find them unfounded. The provost-marshal-general has issued no proclamation at all. He has in no form announced anything recently in regard to troops in New York, except in his letter to Governor Seymour of October 21, which has been published in the newspapers of that State.

JOHN HAY.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 31, 1863.

SAINT NICHOLAS HOTEL OFFICE, New York:

Not knowing whether Colonel Parsons could be spared from duty elsewhere to come to Washington, I referred Governor Yates's dispatch to the Secretary of War, who I presume still holds it under advisement.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 31, 1863.

L. B. TODD, Lexington, Ky.:

I sent the pass by telegraph more than ten days ago. Did you not receive it?

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 1, 1863.

J. B. SHEPPARD, Harper's Ferry, Md.:

Yours of this morning received, and the Secretary of War is attending to your request. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 1, 1863.

HON. W. H. SEWARD, Auburn, N. Y.:

No important news. Details of Hooker's night fight do great credit to his command, and particularly to the Eleventh Corps and Geary's part of the Twelfth. No discredit on any.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON CITY, November 3, 1863.

ABRAM REQUA, New York:

I know nothing whatever of Lieutenant Lobring, about whose case you telegraph. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, November 3, 1863.

HON. W. H. SEWARD, Auburn, N. Y.:

Nothing new. Dispatches up to 12 last night from Chattanooga show all quiet and doing well. How is your son?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 3, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Samuel Wellers, private in Company B, Forty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, writes that he is to be shot for desertion on the 6th instant. His own story is rather a bad one, and yet he tells it so frankly, that I am somewhat interested in him. Has he been a good soldier except the desertion? About how old is he?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 5, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Please suspend the execution of Samuel Wellers, Forty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, until further orders. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON CITY, November 8, 1863.

WILLIAM B. ASTOR, ROBERT B. ROSEVELT, New York:

I shall be happy to give the interview to the committee as you request. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 9, 1863.

MAJOR MULFORD, Fort Monroe:

Let Mrs. Clark go with Mrs. Todd. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 10, 1863.

GENERAL SCHOFIELD, Saint Louis, Mo.:

I see a dispatch here from Saint Louis, which is a little difficult for me to understand. It says "General Schofield has refused leave of absence to members in military service to attend the legislature. All such are radical and administration men. The election of two Senators from this place on Thursday will probably turn upon this thing." What does this mean? Of course members of the legislation must be allowed to attend its sessions. But how is there a session before the recent election returns are in? And how is it to be at "this place"—and that is Saint Louis? Please inform me. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 11, 1863.

GENERAL SCHOFIELD, Saint Louis, Mo.:

I believe the Secretary of War has telegraphed you about members of the legislation. At all events, allow those in the service to attend the session, and we can afterward decide whether they can stay through the entire session. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 11, 1863.

HON. HIRAM BARNEY, New York:

I would like an interview with you. Can you not come?
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 11, 1863.

JOHN MILDERBORGER, Peru, Ind.:

I cannot comprehend the object of your dispatch. I do not often decline seeing people who call upon me, and probably will see you if you call. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 12, 1863.

GENERAL VAUGHAN, or officer in command, Lexington, Mo.:

Let execution of William H. Ogden be suspended until further order from me. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 13, 1863.

E. H. & E. JAMESON, Jefferson City, Mo.:

Yours saying Brown and Henderson are elected senators is received. I understand this is one and one. If so it is knocking heads together to some purpose. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, November 16, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Knoxville, Tenn.:

What is the news? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 20, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHENCK, Baltimore, Md.:

It is my wish that neither Maynadier, nor Gordon be executed without my further order. Please act upon this. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 20, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

If there is a man by the name of King under sentence to be shot, please suspend execution till further order, and send record.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 20, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

An intelligent woman in deep distress, called this morning, saying her husband, a lieutenant in the Army of Potomac, was to be shot next Monday for desertion, and putting a letter in my hand, upon which I relied for particulars, she left without mentioning a name or other particular by which to identify the case. On opening the letter I found it equally vague, having nothing to identify by, except her own signature, which seems to be "Mrs. Anna S. King." I could not again find her. If you have a case which you shall think is probably the one intended, please apply my dispatch of this morning to it. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 23, 1863.

E. P. EVANS, West Union, Adams County, Ohio:

Yours to Governor Chase in behalf of John A. Welch is before me. Can there be a worse case than to desert and with letters persuading others to desert? I cannot interpose without a better showing than you make. When did he desert? When did he write the letters? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 23, 1863.

HON. GREEN CLAY SMITH, Covington, Ky.:

I am told that John A. Welch is under sentence as a deserter to be shot at Covington on the 11th of December. Please bring a copy of the record and other facts of his case with you when you come.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 24, 1863.

MILITARY OFFICER IN COMMAND, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Please suspend execution of sentence against E. A. Smith, until further order, meantime send me a copy of record of his trial.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, November 25, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Commanding Army of the Potomac:

Suspend execution in case of Adolphus Morse, Seventy-sixth New York, deserter, and send record to me. A. LINCOLN.

November 25, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

The sentence in the case of Privt. Moses Giles, Company B, Seventh Maine Volunteers, is suspended until further orders.
A. LINCOLN.

December 2, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

The sentence in the case of Privt. H. Morris Husband, Ninety-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, (now of Third Army Corps First Division) is suspended until further orders. Let the record be forwarded to me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 3, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Please suspend execution of Frederick Foster until the record can be examined. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 3, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Governor Seymour especially asks that Isaac C. White sentenced to death for desertion be reprieved. I wish this done.
A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

The sentences in the cases of Brice Birdsill, private Company B, One hundred and twenty-fourth New York Volunteers, and Frederick Foster, of Ninety-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, are suspended until further orders. Let the records be forwarded at once. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 3, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Please suspend execution in case of William A. Gammon, Seventh Maine, and send record to me. A. LINCOLN.

Send by telegraph and oblige, yours very truly,
JOHN HAY.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

The sentences in the cases of Private John L. Keatly, and James Halter, Company I, Second Delaware Volunteers, are suspended until further orders. Let the records be at once forwarded.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 4, 1863—9 1-2 a. m.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Metropolitan, New York:

All going well.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 5, 1863—10 a. m.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Metropolitan Hotel, New York:

All doing well.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 6, 1863.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Metropolitan Hotel, New York:

All doing well. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 7, 1863—10.20 a. m.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Metropolitan Hotel, New York:

All doing well. Tad confidently expects you to-night. When will you come? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 7, 1863—7 p. m.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Metropolitan Hotel, New York:

Tad has received his book. The carriage shall be ready at 6 p. m. to-morrow. A. LINCOLN.

Charles P. Kirkland, New York.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Dec. 7, 1863.

CHARLES P. KIRKLAND, ESQ., New York.

I have just received and have read your published letter to the Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis. Under the circumstances I may not be the most competent judge, but it appears to me to be a paper of great ability, and for the country's sake more than for my own I thank you for it. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Miss Julia Kirkland, Utica, N. Y.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 9, 1863.

JUDGE ADVOCATE-GENERAL:

COLONEL: The President desires me to request that you will order the execution of these men to be suspended until the records can be examined, using the President's signature to your dispatch.

Yours truly, JOHN HAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 10, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Please suspend execution in any and all sentences of death in your department until further orders. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 10, 1863.

OFFICER IN MILITARY COMMAND, Covington, Ky.:

Let the execution of John A. Welch, under sentence to be shot for desertion to-morrow, be suspended until further order from here.

A. LINCOLN.

December 11, 1863.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL LOCKWOOD, Baltimore, Md.:

The sentences in the cases of Privates William Irons, Company D, and Jesse Lewis, Company E, Fifth Maryland Volunteers, ordered to be carried into execution to-day, is hereby suspended until further orders.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 11, 1863.

GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Please come to see me at once.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 11, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of the Potomac:

Lieut. Col. James B. Knox, Tenth Regiment Pennsylvania Reserves, offers his resignation under circumstances inducing me to wish to accept it. But I prefer to know your pleasure upon the subject. Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 12, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Please suspend execution of sentence in case of William F. Goodwin, Company B, Seventeenth Infantry, and forward the record for my examination.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 13, 1863.

GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD, Saint Louis, Mo.:

On the 11th I telegraphed asking you to come here and see me. Did you receive the dispatch?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 14, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Please suspend execution in case of William Gibson, Fourth Maine Regiment until further order and send record.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 14, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Please suspend execution of Lewis Beers, Fourteenth U. S. Infantry, and of William J. Hazlett, One hundred and nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers and send record. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 15, 1863.

MOTHER MARY GONYEAG, Superior, Academy of Visitation, Keokuk, Iowa:

The President has no authority as to whether you may raffle for the benevolent object you mention. If there is no objection in the Iowa laws, there is none here. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HURLBUT, Memphis, Tenn.:

I understand you have under sentence of death, a tall old man, by the name of Henry F. Luckett. I personally knew him, and did not think him a bad man. Please do not let him be executed unless upon further order from me, and in the meantime send me a transcript of the record. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 21, 1863.

GOVERNOR PIERPOINT, Alexandria, Va.:

Please come up and see me to-day. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 21, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

It is said that William H. Blake is under sentence of death at Fort Magruder, in your department. Do not let him be executed without further order from me, and in the meantime have the record sent me. He is said to belong to the First or Second Pennsylvania Artillery. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 22, 1863.

MILITARY COMMANDER, Point Lookout, Md.:

If you have a prisoner by the name Linder—Daniel Linder, I think, and certainly the son of U. F. Linder, of Illinois, please send him to me by an officer. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 24, 1863.

MILITARY COMMANDER, Point Lookout, Md.:

If you send Linder to me as directed a day or two ago, also send Edwin C. Claybrook, of Ninth Virginia rebel cavalry.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 26, 1863.

HON. U. F. LINDER, Chicago, Ill.:

Your son Dan has just left me with my order to the Secretary of War, to administer to him the oath of allegiance, discharge him and send him to you. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 26, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Providence, R. I.:

Yours in relation to Privates Eaton and Burrows, of the Sixth New Hampshire, is received. When you reach here about New Year, call on me and we will fix it up, or I will do it sooner if you say so. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 26, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of the Potomac:

If Christopher Delker, of the Sixty-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, is under sentence of death, do not execute him till further order. Whenever it shall be quite convenient I shall be glad to have a conference with you about this class of cases.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 29, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Providence, R. I.:

You may telegraph Eaton and Burrows that these cases will be disposed of according to your request when you come to Washington. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 29, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

I am appealed to in behalf of Joseph Richardson of Forty-ninth Pennsylvania, and Moses Chadbourne, (in some New Hampshire Regiment) said to be under sentence for desertion. As in other cases do not let them be executed until further order.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 30, 1863.

GENERAL BOYLE, Louisville, Ky.:

It is said that Corporal Robert L. Crowell, of Company E, Twentieth Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, is under sentence to be shot on the 8th of January at Louisville. Do not let the sentence be executed until further order from me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 30, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Jacob Bowers is fully pardoned for past offence, upon condition that he returns to duty and re-enlists for three years or during the war. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 1, 1864—3.30 p. m.

GENERAL SULLIVAN, Harper's Ferry:

Have you anything new from Winchester, Martinsburg or thereabouts? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 2, 1864.

GOVERNOR PIERPOINT, Alexandria, Va.:

Please call and see me to-day if not too inconvenient.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 3, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL HURLBUT, Memphis, Tenn.:

Suspend execution of sentence of Privt. Peter Fingle of Fourteenth Iowa Volunteers, and forward record of trial for examination. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 3, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Suspend the execution of Prvt. Joseph Richardson, Forty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, who is sentenced to be shot to-morrow, and forward record of trial for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 5, 1864.

MRS. LINCOLN, Continental Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa.:

All very well. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 5, 1864.

GENERAL BOYLE, Camp Nelson, Ky.:

Execution in the cases of Burrow and Eaton is suspended, as stated by General Burnside. Let this be taken as an order to that effect. I do not remember receiving any appeal in behalf of Goddard, Crowell, Prickett, or Smith, and yet I may have sent a dispatch in regard to some of them. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 5, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

If not inconsistent with the service, please allow General William Harrow as long a leave of absence as the rules permit with the understanding that I may lengthen it if I see fit. He is an acquaintance and friend of mine, and his family matters very urgently require his presence. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 6, 1864.

GENERAL BOYLE, Camp Nelson, Ky.:

Let execution in the cases of Goddard, Crowell, Prickett, and Smith, mentioned by you be suspended till further order.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 7, 1864.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Philadelphia, Pa.:

We are all well and have not been otherwise. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 7, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND, Covington, Ky.:

The death sentence of Henry Andrews is commuted to imprisonment at hard labor during the remainder of the war.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 9, 1864.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Your two letters one of the 6th and the other of the 7th both received. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 11, 1864.

R. T. LINCOLN, Cambridge, Mass.:

I send you draft to-day. How are you now? Answer by telegraph at once. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 12, 1864.

GOVERNOR O. P. MORTON, Indianapolis, Ind.:

I have telegraphed to Chattanooga suspending execution of William Jeffries until further order from me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 12, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT OR MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS, Chattanooga, Tenn.:

Let execution of the death sentence upon William Jeffries, of Company A, Sixth Indiana Volunteers, be suspended until further order from here. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fortress Monroe, Va.:

Let Wilson B. Kevas, Third Pennsylvania Artillery, be respited until further orders. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 14, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of the Potomac:

Suspend execution of the death sentence in the case of Allen G. Maxson, corporal in Company D, in First Michigan Volunteers, until further order. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 15, 1864.

GOVERNOR BROUGH, Columbus, Ohio:

If Private William G. Toles, of Fifty-ninth Ohio Volunteers, returns to his regiment and faithfully serves out his term, he is fully pardoned for all military offenses prior to this.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 16, 1864.

GENERAL SULLIVAN, Harper's Ferry:

Please state to me the reasons of the arrest of Capt. William Firey, of Major Coles' battalion, at Charlestown.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 16, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE or MAJOR-GENERAL SEDGWICK, Army of the Potomac:

Suspend execution of death sentence of Joseph W. Clifton, of Sixth New Jersey Volunteers, until further order.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 19, 1864.

COL. JOHN CLARK, Third Regiment of Pennsylvania Reserves, Alexandria, Va.:

Where is John Wilson, under sentence of desertion, of whom you wrote Hon. Mr. Thayer yesterday? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 19, 1864.

R. T. LINCOLN, Cambridge, Mass.:

There is a good deal of small-pox here. Your friends must judge for themselves whether they ought to come or not.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 20, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe:

Please suspend executions until further order, in the cases of Private Henry Wooding, of Company C, Eighth Connecticut Volunteers, and Private Albert A. Lacy, of Company H, Fourth Rhode Island Volunteers. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 20, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER:

If Henry C. Fuller, of Company C, One hundred and eighteenth New York Volunteers, under sentence of death for desertion, has not been executed, suspend his execution until further order.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 20, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SEDGWICK, Army of the Potomac:

Please suspend execution of John Wilson, of Seventy-first Pennsylvania, under sentence for desertion, till further order.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 20, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SEDGWICK:

Suspend execution till further order in case of Private James Lane, Company B, Seventy-first New York Volunteers.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 22, 1864.

MILITARY COMMANDER, Fort Independence:

Suspend until further order execution of Charles R. Belts, of Twelfth Massachusetts, and send me the record of his trial.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 23, 1864.

MAJ. GEN. C. C. WASHBURNE, Care of C. & G. Woodman, No. 33 Pine street, New York City:

Your brother wishes you to visit Washington, and this is your authority to do so. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 25, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Suspend execution of sentence Samuel Tyler, of Company G, Third Regiment New Jersey Volunteers, in First Brigade, First Division, Sixth Corps, and forward record for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above dispatch JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 25, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Suspend execution of death sentence of Robert Gill, ordered to be shot on the 29th instant, and forward record for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe:

Some days ago a dispatch was sent to stay execution of James C. Grattan, and perhaps some others, which has not been answered. Please answer. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SEDGWICK:

Your letter of January 22, received. Suspend execution of sentence in all the capital cases mentioned in General Orders No. 1 and 2, where it has not already been done. I recapitulate the whole list of capital cases mentioned in said orders including those cases in which execution has been heretofore, as well as those on which it is now suspended.

Private John Wilson, Company D, Seventy-first Pennsylvania; Private James Lane, Company B, Seventy-first New York; Pri-

vate Joseph W. Clifton, Company F, Sixth New Jersey; Private Ira Smith, Company I, Eleventh New Jersey; Private Allen G. Maxson, Company D, First Michigan; Private John Keatly, Company I, Second Delaware; Private Daniel P. Byrnes, Company A, Ninety-eighth Pennsylvania; Private Samuel Tyler, Company G, Third New Jersey; Private Robert Gill, Company D, Sixth New York Cavalry.

Forward the records in these cases for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 27, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL FOSTER, Knoxville, Tenn.:

Is a supposed correspondence between General Longstreet and yourself about the amnesty proclamation, which is now in the newspapers genuine? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 28, 1864.

To the COMMANDING OFFICER at Fort Preble, Portland, Me.:

Suspend the execution of death sentence of Charles Caple, until further orders, and forward record for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above dispatch. I infer from the letter on which the reprieve is granted that Fort Preble is in Maine, but do not certainly know. Please inquire of Colonel Hardee. As the execution was set for to-morrow, it is important that the dispatch should go at once. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 28, 1864.

COMMANDING OFFICER, Fort Mifflin:

Suspend execution of death sentence of Bernard Develin, Company E, Eighty-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, until further orders, and forward record for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 28, 1864.

HON. EDWARD STANLEY, San Francisco, Cal.:

Yours of yesterday received. We have rumors similar to the dispatch received by you, but nothing very definite from North Carolina. Knowing Mr. Stanley to be an able man, and not doubting that he is a patriot, I should be glad for him to be with his old acquaintances south of Virginia, but I am unable to suggest anything definite upon the subject. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 29, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SICKLES, New York:

Could you, without it being inconvenient or disagreeable to yourself, immediately take a trip to Arkansas for me?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 29, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SEDGWICK, Army of Potomac:

Suspend execution of George Sowers, Company E, Fourth Ohio Volunteers, and send record. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 31, 1864.

GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE, Frankfort, Ky.:

General Boyle's resignation is accepted, so that your Excellency can give him the appointment proposed. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 1, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, New York:

Suspend execution of death sentence of Frank W. Parker, of one of the Maine regiments, sentenced to be shot for desertion on the 5th instant, and forward record for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 3, 1864.

GOVERNOR YATES, Springfield, Ill.:

The U. S. Government lot in Springfield can be used for a soldiers' home, with the understanding that the Government does not incur any expense in the case. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 6, 1864.

COMMANDING OFFICER at Sandusky, Ohio:

Suspend the execution of death sentence of George Samuel Goodrich, Jr., One hundred and twenty-second Regiment New York Volunteers, and forward record for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Send above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 8, 1864.

COMMANDING OFFICER, Portland, Me., care of Israel Washburne, Jr.:

Suspend execution of death sentence of James Taylor until further orders, and forward record of trial for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 8, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SEDGWICK:

Suspend execution of death sentence of James Taylor until further orders and forward record of trial for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 10, 1864.

GOVERNOR BROUGH, Columbus, Ohio:

Robert Johnson, mentioned by you, is hereby fully pardoned for any supposed desertion up to date. A. LINCOLN.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., February 10, 1864.

Major-General Sickles, New York:

Please come on at your earliest convenience, prepared to make the contemplated trip for me. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 11, 1864.

Major-General Sedgwick, Army of Potomac:

Unless there be strong reason to the contrary, please send General Kilpatrick to us here, for two or three days.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 12, 1864.

Military Commander, Boston, Mass.:

If there is anywhere in your command a man by the name of James Taylor under sentence of death for desertion, suspend execution till further order. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 12, 1864.

Major-General Dix, New York:

If there is anywhere in your command a man by the name of James Taylor under sentence of death for desertion, suspend execution till further order. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 17, 1864.

Major-General Steele, Little Rock, Ark.:

The day fixed by the convention for the election is probably the best, but you on the ground, and in consultation with gentlemen there, are to decide. I should have fixed no day for an election, presented no plan for reconstruction, had I known the convention was doing the same things. It is probably best that you merely assist the convention on their own plan, as to election day and all other matters. I have already written and telegraphed this half a dozen times. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 18, 1864.

A. Robinson, Leroy, N. Y.:

The law only obliges us to keep accounts with States, or at most, Congressional Districts, and it would overwhelm us to attempt

in counties, cities and towns. Nevertheless we do what we can to oblige in particular cases. In this view I send your dispatch to the provost-marshal general, asking him to do the best he can for you. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
February 19, 1864.

COMMANDER GEORGE S. BLAKE, Commandant Naval Academy, Newport, R. I.:

I desire the case of Midshipman C. Lyon re-examined and if not clearly inconsistent I shall be much obliged to have the recommendation changed. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 22, 1864.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR BROUGH, Columbus, Ohio:

As you request Clinton Fulton charged as a deserter is pardoned.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 22, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL STEELE, Little Rock, Ark.:

Yours of yesterday received. Your conference with citizens approved. Let the election be on the 14th of March as they agreed.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 22, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Colonel Sanderson will be ordered to you to-day, a mere omission that it was not done before. The other questions in your dispatch I am not yet prepared to answer. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 25, 1864.

COMMANDING OFFICER, Johnson's Island:

Suspend execution of death sentence of John Marrs until further orders and forward record for examination.
A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

I cannot remember at whose request it was that I gave the pass to Mrs. Bulkly. Of course detain her, if the evidence of her being a spy is strong against her. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe:

If it has not already been done, suspend execution of death sentence of William K. Stearns, Tenth New Hampshire Volunteers, until further orders and forward record. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

W. Jayne.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 26, 1864.

HON. W. JAYNE.

DEAR SIR: I dislike to make changes in office so long as they can be avoided. It multiplies my embarrassments immensely. I dislike two appointments when one will do. Send me the name of some man not the present marshal, and I will nominate him to be Provost Marshal for Dakota. Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Dr. William Jayne, Springfield, Ill.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 27, 1864.

MAJ. GEN. GEORGE H. THOMAS, Department of Cumberland:

Suspend execution of death sentence of F. W. Lauferseick, first corporal, Company D, One hundred and sixth Regiment Ohio Volunteers, until further orders, and forward record for examination.
A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 29, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, New York:

Do you advise that John McKee, now in military confinement at Fort Lafayette, be turned over to the civil authorities?
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 2, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND, Knoxville, Tenn.:

Allow Mrs. Anne Maria Rumsey, with her six daughters to go to her father, Judge Breck, at Richmond, Ky. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 2, 1864.

JUDGE D. BRECK, Richmond, Ky.:

I have directed the officer at Knoxville to allow Mrs. Rumsey to come to you. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 2, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Suspend execution of the death sentence of James Whelan, One hundred and sixteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers, until further orders and forward record for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 3, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL STEELE, Little Rock, Ark.:

Yours including address to people of Arkansas is received. I approve the address and thank you for it. Yours in relation to Willard M. Randolph also received. Let him take the oath of December 8, and go to work for the new constitution, and on your notifying me of it, I will immediately issue the special pardon for him. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 4, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Admiral Dahlgreen is here, and of course is very anxious about his son. Please send me at once all you know or can learn of his fate. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 7, 1864.

U. S. MARSHAL, Louisville, Ky.:

Until further order suspend sale of property and further proceedings in cases of the United States against Dr. John B. English,

and S. S. English, et al. sureties for John L. Hill. Also same against same sureties for Thomas A. Ireland. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 9, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

What are the facts about the imprisonment of Joseph A. Bilisoly?
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 9, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

New York City votes 9,500 majority for allowing soldiers to vote, and the rest of the State nearly all on the same side. Tell the soldiers. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 14, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

First lieutenant and adjutant of Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers, Edward P. Brooks, is a prisoner of war at Richmond, and if you can without difficulty, effect a special exchange for him, I shall be obliged. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, March 17, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Suspend execution of death sentence of John F. Abshier, citizen, until further orders. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 22, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Hon. W. R. Morrison says he has requested you by letter to effect a special exchange of Lieut. Col. A. F. Rogers, of Eightieth Illinois Volunteers, now in Libby Prison, and I shall be glad if you can effect it. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 22, 1864.

GOVERNOR EVANS, Denver, Col. Ter.:

Colorado Enabling Act was signed yesterday by the President.
JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 23, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Please suspend execution of Alanson Orton, under sentence for desertion, until further order. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 24, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Please, if you can, effect special exchanges for J. F. Robinson, first lieutenant, Company E, Sixty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers, and C. L. Edmunds, first lieutenant, Company D, Sixty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
March 24, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Do not change your purpose to send Private Orton, of Twelfth U. S. Infantry, to the Dry Tortugas. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 30, 1864.

HON. R. M. CORWINE, New York:

It does not occur to me that you can present the Smith case any better than you have done. Of this, however, you must judge for yourself. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 5, 1864.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN BROUGH, Columbus, Ohio:

The President has ordered the pardon of the soldiers of the Twelfth Ohio, in accordance with your request. JOHN HAY.

(This letter does appear in the Life by J. G. Nicolay and John Hay.)

(Cypher) EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 6, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fortress Monroe, Va.:

The President directs me to acknowledge receipt of your dis-

patch of this morning and to say that you will submit by letter or telegram to the Secretary of War the points in relation to the exchange of prisoners wherein you wish instructions, and that it is not necessary for you to visit Washington for the purpose indicated.

JOHN HAY,
Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 9, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of the Potomac:

Suspend execution of Private William Collins, Company B, Sixty-ninth New York Volunteers, Irish Brigade, and class him with other suspended cases. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 11, 1864—6.15 p. m.

HON. W. H. SEWARD, Astor House, New York:

Nothing of importance since you left. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 12, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

I am pressed to get from Libby, by special exchange, Jacob C. Hagenbuck, first lieutenant, Company H, Sixty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers. Please do it if you can without detriment or embarrassment. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 17, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Private William Collins of Company B, of the Sixty-ninth New York Volunteers, has been convicted of desertion, and execution suspended as in numerous other cases. Now Captain O'Neill, commanding the regiment, and nearly all its other regimental and company officers, petition for his full pardon and restoration to his company. Is there any good objection? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 18, 1864.

COL. PAUL FRANK, of New York Fifty-second, Army of Potomac:

Is there or has there been a man in your regiment by the name of Cornelius Garoin? And if so, answer me as far as you know where he now is. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 20, 1864.

CALVIN TRUESDALE, ESQ., Postmaster, Rock Island, Ill.:

Thomas J. Pickett, late agent of the Quartermaster's Department for the island of Rock Island, has been removed or suspended from that position on a charge of having sold timber and stone from the island for his private benefit. Mr. Pickett is an old acquaintance and friend of mine, and I will thank you, if you will, to set a day or days and place on and at which to take testimony on the point. Notify Mr. Pickett and one J. B. Danforth (who as I understand makes the charge) to be present with their witnesses. Take the testimony in writing offered by both sides, and report it in full to me. Please do this for me. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(From Herndon's "Life of Lincoln." Permission of Jesse Weik.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 20, 1864.

OFFICER IN MILITARY COMMAND, at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Mass.:

If there is a man by the name of Charles Carpenter, under sentence of death for desertion, at Fort Warren, suspend execution until further order and send the record of his trial. If sentenced for any other offence, telegraph what it is, and when he is to be executed. Answer at all events. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 21, 1864.

OFFICER IN MILITARY COMMAND, at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Mass.:

The order I sent yesterday in regard to Charles Carpenter is hereby withdrawn, and you are to act as if it had never existed.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 21, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, New York:

Yesterday I was induced to telegraph the officer in military command at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Mass., suspending the execution of Charles Carpenter, to be executed to-morrow for desertion. Just now on reading your order in the case, I telegraphed the same officer withdrawing the suspension, and leaving the case entirely with you. The man's friends are pressing me, but I refer them to you, intending to take no further action myself.

A. LINCOLN.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., April 22, 1864.

Brigadier-General Brayman, Commanding Cairo:

What day did General Corse part with General Banks?

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., April 22, 1864.

A. G. Hodges, Esq., Frankfort, Ky.:

Did you receive my letter? A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, April 23, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Senator Ten Eyck is very anxious to have a special exchange of Capt. Frank J. McLean, of Ninth Tennessee Cavalry now, or lately at Johnson's Island, for Capt. T. Ten Eyck, Eighteenth U. S. Infantry, and now at Richmond. I would like to have it done. Can it be? A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington City, April 25, 1864.

John Williams, Springfield, Ill.:

Yours of the 15th is just received. Thanks for your kind remembrance. I would accept your offer at once, were it not that I fear there might be some impropriety in it, though I do not see that there would. I will think of it a while.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington City, April 25, 1864.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:

A Mr. Corby brought you a note from me at the foot of a petition I believe, in the case of Dawson, to be executed to-day. The record has been examined here, and it shows too strong a case for a pardon or commutation, unless there is something in the poor man's favor outside of the record, which you on the ground may know, but I do not. My note to you only means that if you know of any such thing rendering a suspension of the execution proper, on your own judgment, you are at liberty to suspend it. Otherwise I do not interfere. A. Lincoln.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS, Chattanooga, Tenn.:

Suspend execution of death sentence of young Perry from Wisconsin, condemned for sleeping on his post, until further orders, and forward record for examination. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 27, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

John J. Stefke, Company I, First New Jersey Cavalry, having a substitute, is ordered to be discharged. Please have him sent here to Washington. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Your dispatch about Private Peter Gilner received. Dispose of him precisely as you would under the recent order, if he were under sentence of death for desertion, and execution suspended by me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 28, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

If Private George W. Sloan, of the Seventy-second Pennsylvania Volunteers, is under sentence of death for desertion, suspend execution till further order. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 29, 1864.

GENERAL BRAYMAN, Cairo, Ill.:

I am appealed to in behalf of O. Kellogg, and J. W. Pryor, both in prison at Cairo. Please telegraph me what are the charges and summary of evidence against them. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 30, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND, at Little Rock, Ark.:

Please send me the record of trial for desertion of Thadeus A. Kinsloe, of Company D, Seventh Missouri Volunteer Cavalry.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 5, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Commanding, &c., Saint Louis, Mo.:

The President directs me to inquire whether a day has yet been fixed for the execution of citizen Robert Louden, and if so what day?

JOHN HAY,
Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 9, 1864.

MRS. SARAH B. MECONKEY, West Chester, Pa.

MADAM: Our mutual friend, Judge Lewis tells me you do me the honor to inquire for my personal welfare. I have been very anxious for some days in regard to our armies in the field, but am considerably cheered, just now, by favorable news from them. I am sure that you will join me in the hope for their further success; while yourself, and other good mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, do all you and they can, to relieve and comfort the gallant soldiers who compose them. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Columbia University Library.)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 10, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE, Baltimore:

Please tell me what is the trouble with Dr. Hawks. Also please ask Bishop Whittington to give me his view of the case.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 14, 1864.

OFFICER IN MILITARY COMMAND at Fort Monroe, Va.:

If Thomas Dorerty, or Welsh, is to be executed to-day and it is not already done, suspend it till further order. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 17, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Fort Monroe, Va.:

If there is a man by the name of William H. H. Cummings, of Company H, Twenty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers, within your command under sentence of death for desertion, suspend execution till further order. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 18, 1864.

HIS EXCELLENCY RICHARD YATES, Springfield, Ill.:

If any such proclamation has appeared, it is a forgery.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 19, 1864.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

Yours of the 17th was received yesterday. Will write you on the subject within a day or two. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 20, 1864.

FELIX SCHMEDDING, Saint Louis, Mo.:

The pleasure of attending your fair is not within my power.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, May 21, 1864.

MR. STANSBURY, U. S. Sanitary Commission:

Principal Musician John A. Burke, Fourteenth U. S. Infantry, has permission to accompany Capt. W. R. Smedburg, Fourteenth Infantry (wounded) to New York. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 21, 1864.

CHRISTIANA A. SACK, Baltimore, Md.:

I cannot postpone the execution of a convicted spy on a mere telegraphic dispatch signed with a name I never heard before. General Wallace may give you a pass to see him if he chooses.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
May 23, 1864.

To the COMMANDING OFFICER at Fort Monroe:

Is a man named Henry Sack to be executed to-morrow at noon? If so, when was he condemned and for what offense?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 24, 1864.

To the COMMANDING OFFICER at Fort Monroe, Va.:

Let the execution of Henry Sack be suspended. I have commuted his sentence to imprisonment during the war.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send this at once.

Yours,
JOHN HAY,
Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 25, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Mr. J. C. Swift wishes a pass from me to follow your army to pick up rags and cast off clothing. I will give it to him if you say so, otherwise not.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 30, 1864.

COLONEL DUTTON, Old Point Comfort, Va.:

Colonel Dutton is permitted to come from Fort Monroe to Washington.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 31, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL HURLBUT, Belvidere, Ill.:

You are hereby authorized to visit Washington and Baltimore.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 4, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, New York:

Please inform me whether Charles H. Scott, of Eighth U. S. Infantry, is under sentence of death in your department? and if so when to be executed and what are the features of the case?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 6, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of the Potomac:

Private James McCarthy, of the One hundred and fortieth New York Volunteers, is here under sentence to the Dry Tortugas for

an attempt to desert. His friends appeal to me and if his colonel and you consent, I will send him to his regiment. Please answer.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, June 7, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

When your communication shall be ready send it by express. There will be no danger of its miscarriage. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 13, 1864.

THOMAS WEBSTER, Philadelphia:

Will try to leave here Wednesday afternoon, say at 4 p. m. remain till Thursday afternoon and then return. This subject to events. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1864.

C. A. WALBORN, Post Master Philadelphia:

Please come and see me in the next day or two.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, June 19, 1864.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York:

Tad arrived safely and all well. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 27, 1864.

COLONEL BASCOM, Assistant Adjutant-General, Knoxville, Tenn.:

Please suspend sale of the property of Rogers & Co., until further order. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 28, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Fort Monroe, Va.:

Is there a man by the name of Amos Tenney in your command, under sentence for desertion? and if so suspend execution and send me the record. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 29, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point:

Dr. Worster wishes to visit you with a view of getting your permission to introduce into the army "Harmon's Sandal Sock."[8] Shall I give him a pass for that object? A. LINCOLN.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., July 9, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, Saint Louis, Mo.:

When did the Secretary of War telegraph you to release Dr. Barrett? If it is an old thing let it stand till you hear further.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
July 20, 1864.

J. L. Wright, Indianapolis, Ind.:

All a mistake. Mr. Stanton has not resigned.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., July 27, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Va.:

Please have a surgeon's examination of Cornelius Lee Comygas, in Company A, One hundred and eighty-third Volunteers, made on the questions of general health and sanity. A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, July 28, 1864.

Hon. J. W. Forney, Philadelphia, Penn.:

I wish yourself and M. McMichael would see me here to-morrow, or early in the day Saturday. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., July 30, 1864.

Major-General Hunter, Harper's Ferry, Va.:

What news this morning? A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 30, 1864.

Hon. M. Odell, Brooklyn:

Please find Colonel Fowler, of Fourteenth Volunteers, and have him telegraph, if he will, a recommendation for Clemens J. Myers, for a clerkship. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., August 1, 1864.

Governor E. D. Morgan, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.:

Please come here at once. I wish to see you.

A. Lincoln.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 5, 1864.

GOVERNOR PIERPOINT, Alexandria, Va.:

General Butler telegraphs me that Judge Snead is at liberty.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 6, 1864.

COL. S. M. BOWMAN, Baltimore, Md.:

If convenient come and see me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 6, 1864.

HON. ANSON MILLER, Rockford, Ill.:

If you will go and live in New Mexico I will appoint you a judge there. Answer. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 6, 1864.

HON. HORACE GREELEY, New York:

Yours to Major Hay about publication of our correspondence received. With the suppression of a few passages in your letters in regard to which I think you and I would not disagree, I should be glad of the publication. Please come over and see me.

A. LINCOLN.

(This letter does appear in the Life by John G. Nicolay and John Hay.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 8, 1864.

HON. HORACE GREELEY, New York:

I telegraphed you Saturday. Did you receive the dispatch? Please answer. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 8, 1864.

HON. I. N. ARNOLD, Chicago:

I send you by mail to-day the appointment of Colonel Mulligan, to be a brevet brigadier-general. A. LINCOLN.

ENDORSEMENT OF APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT.

August 15, 1864.

"I am always for the man who wishes to work; and I shall be

glad for this man to get suitable employment at Cavalry Depot, or elsewhere. A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 18, 1864.

GOVERNOR ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

The officer whose duty it would be to execute John S. Young, upon a sentence of death for murder, &c., is hereby ordered to suspend such execution until further order from me.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 18, 1864.

GEORGE W. BRIDGES, Colonel Tenth Tennessee Volunteers, Nashville, Tenn.:

If Governor Andrew Johnson thinks execution of sentence in case of William R. Bridges should be further suspended, and will request it, the President will order it.

JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 20, 1864.

COMMANDING OFFICER at Nashville, Tenn.:

Suspend execution of death sentence of Patrick Jones, Company F, Twelfth Tennessee Cavalry, until further orders and forward record for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 20, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Bermuda Hundred, Va.:

Please allow Judge Snead to go to his family on Eastern Shore, or give me some good reason why not. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
August 21, 1864—3 p. m.

COLONEL CHIPMAN, Harper's Ferry, Va.:

What news now? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, August 24, 1864.

MRS. MARY MCCOOK BALDWIN, Nashville, Tenn.:

This is an order to the officer having in charge to execute the death sentence upon John S. Young, to suspend the same until further order. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 26, 1864.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

Thanks to General Gillam for making the news and also to you for sending it. Does Joe Heiskell's "walking to meet us" mean any more than that "Joe" was scared and wanted to save his skin?
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 28, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE, Baltimore, Md.:

The punishment of the four men under sentence of death to be executed to-morrow at Baltimore, is commuted in each case to confinement in the Penitentiary at hard labor during the war. You will act accordingly. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 30, 1864.

HON. B. H. BREWSTER, Astor House, New York:

Your letter of yesterday received. Thank you for it. Please have no fears. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 5, 1864.

HON. HENRY J. RAYMOND, New York:

Have written about Indiana matters. Attend to it to-morrow.
E. B. WASHBURNE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 7, 1864.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

This is an order to whatever officer may have the matter in charge, that the execution of Thomas R. Bridges be respited to Friday, September 30, 1864. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 7, 1864.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

This is an order to whatever officer may have the matter in charge that the execution of Jesse T. Broadway and Jordon Moseley, is respited to Friday September 30, 1864. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 8, 1864.

GOVERNOR SMITH, Providence, R. I.:

Yours of yesterday about Edward Conley received. Don't remember receiving anything else from you on the subject. Please telegraph me at once the grounds on which you request his punishment to be commuted. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 8, 1864.

GOVERNOR PICKERING, Olympia, W. T.:

Your patriotic dispatch of yesterday received and will be published. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 8, 1864.

GENERAL SLOUGH, Alexandria, Va.:

Edward Conley's execution is respited to one week from tomorrow. Act accordingly. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, September 9, 1864.

ISAAC M. SCHEMERHORN, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Yours of to-day received. I do not think the letter you mention has reached me. I have no recollection of it. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 11, 1864.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, New York:

All well. What day will you be home? Four days ago sent dispatch to Manchester, Vt., for you. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 13, 1864.

HON. J. G. BLAINE, Augusta, Me.:

On behalf of the Union, thanks to Maine. Thanks to you personally for sending the news. A. LINCOLN.

P. S.—Send same to L. B. Smith and M. A. Blanchard, Portland, Me. A. L.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Saint Louis:

Postpone the execution of S. H. Anderson for two weeks. Hear what his friends can say in mitigation and report to me.
A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Saint Louis:

Postpone the execution of Joseph Johnson for two weeks. Examine the case and report. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 15, 1864.

MAJOR H. H. HEATH, Baltimore, Md.:

You are hereby authorized to visit Washington.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 16, 1864.

GENERAL SLOUGH, Alexandria, Va.:

On the 14th I commuted the sentence of Conley, but fearing you may not have received notice I send this. Do not execute him.
A. LINCOLN.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., September 16, 1864.

Hon. William Sprague, Providence, R. I.:

I commuted the sentence of Conley two days ago.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 16, 1864.

Major-General Sigel, Bethlehem, Pa.:

You are authorized to visit Washington on receipt of this.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
September 20, 1864.

Major-General Meade, Headquarters Army Potomac:

If you have not executed the sentence in the case of Private Peter Gilner, Company F, Sixty-second Pennsylvania Volunteers, let it be suspended until further orders. Report to me.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., September 24, 1864.

Frank W. Bollard, New York:

I shall be happy to receive the deputation you mention.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., September 25, 1864.

George H. Bragonier, Commanding at Cumberland, Md.:

Postpone the execution of Private Joseph Provost, until Friday the 30th instant.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 25, 1864.

H. W. Hoffman, Baltimore, Md.:

Please come over and see me to-morrow, or as soon as convenient.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 27, 1864.

Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.:

I am appealed to in behalf of Robert Bridges, who it is said is to be executed next Friday. Please satisfy yourself, and give me your opinion as to what ought be done.

A. Lincoln.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 28, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Nashville, Tenn.:

Execution of Jesse A. Broadway is hereby respited to Friday the 14th day of October next. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 29, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Nashville, Tenn.:

Let the execution of Robert T. Bridges be suspended until further order from me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 30, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Bermuda Hundred, Va.:

Is there a man in your department by the name of James Hallion, under sentence, and if so what is the sentence, and for what?
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 1, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Fort Monroe, Va.:

Is there a man by the name James Hallion (I think) under sentence? And what is his offense? What the sentence, and when to be executed? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 5, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND, at Nashville, Tenn.:

Suspend execution of Thomas K. Miller until further order from me. A. LINCOLN

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 10, 1864—5 p. m.

GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Yours of to-day just this moment received, and the Secretary having left it is impossible for me to answer to-day. I have not received your letter from Erie. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 11, 1864.

GENERAL S. CAMERON, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Am leaving office to go home. How does it stand now?
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
October 12, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Headquarters Army of the Potomac:

The President directs suspension of execution in case of Albert G. Lawrence, Sixteenth Massachusetts Volunteers, until his further order.

JOHN HAY,
Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 13, 1864.

HON. G. S. ORTH, Lafayette, Ind.:

I now incline to defer the appointment of judge until the meeting of Congress.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 13, 1864.

COMMANDANT at Nashville, Tenn.:

The sentence of Jesse Broadway has been commuted by the President to imprisonment at hard labor for three years.

JOHN HAY,
Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 15, 1864.

HON. H. W. HOFFMAN, Baltimore, Md.:

Come over to-night and see me.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 16, 1864.

HON. J. K. MOOREHEAD, Pittsburg, Pa.:

I do not remember about the Peter Gilner case, and must look it up before I can answer.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 22, 1864.

WILLIAM PRICE, District Attorney, Baltimore, Md.:

Yours received. Will see you any time when you present yourself.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 25, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Nashville, Tenn.:

Suspend execution of Young C. Edmonson, until further order from here. Answer if you receive this.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 25, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ROBINSON, of Third Maryland Battalion, near Petersburg, Va.:

Please inform me what is the condition of, and what is being done with Lieut. Charles Saumenig, in your command.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 30, 1864.

HON. A. K. MCCLURE, Harrisburg, Pa.:

I would like to hear from you. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 31, 1864.

HON. THOMAS T. DAVIS, Syracuse, N. Y.:

I have ordered that Milton D. Norton be discharged on taking the oath. Please notify his mother. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 1, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, New York:

Please suspend execution of Private P. Carroll until further order. Acknowledge receipt. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 1, 1864.

HON. A. HOBBS, Malone, N. Y.:

Where is Nathan Wilcox, of whom you telegraph, to be found?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 2, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point:

Suspend until further order the execution of Nathan Wilcox of Twenty-second Massachusetts Regiment Fifth Corps, said to be at Repair Depot. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 2, 1864.

HON. H. J. RAYMOND and GENERAL W. K. STRONG, New York:

Telegraphed General Dix last night to suspend execution of P. Carroll, and have his answer that the order is received by him.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 3, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Lexington, Ky.:

Suspend execution of Vance Mason until further order. Acknowledge receipt. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 3, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

Suspend execution of Samuel J. Smith, and George Brown, alias George Rock, until further order and send record.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 4, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURBRIDGE, Lexington, Ky.:

Suspend execution of all the deserters ordered to be executed on Sunday at Louisville, until further order, and send me the records in the cases. Acknowledge receipt. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 5, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Chattanooga, Tenn.:

Suspend execution of Robert W. Reed until further order and send record. Answer. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 5, 1864.

HON. W. H. SEWARD, Auburn, N. Y.:

No news of consequence this morning. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 10, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Suspend execution of Major Wolf until further order and meanwhile report to me on the case. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 10, 1864.

H. W. HOFFMAN, Baltimore, Md.:

The Maryland soldiers in the Army of the Potomac cast a total vote of 1428, out of which we get 1160 majority. This is directly from General Meade and General Grant. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 15, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS, Nashville, Tenn.:

How much force and artillery had Gillem? A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 15, 1864.

W. H. PURNELL, Baltimore, Md.:

I shall be happy to receive the committee on Thursday morning (17th) as you propose. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 19, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Davenport, Iowa:

Let the Indian "Big Eagle" be discharged. I ordered this some time ago. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, November 24, 1864.

HON. HENRY M. RICE, Saint Paul, Minn.:

Have suspended execution of deserters named in your dispatch until further orders from here. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, November 24, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Fort Snelling, Minn.:

Suspend execution of Patrick Kelly, John Lennor, Joel H. Eastwood, Thomas J. Murray, and Hoffman until further order from here. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS:

Please telegraph me briefly on what charge and evidence Mrs. Anna B. Martin has been sent to the Penitentiary at Alton.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 5, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS, Nashville, Tenn.:

Let execution in the case of Oliver B. Wheeler, sergeant in the Sixth Regiment, Missouri Volunteers, under sentence of death

for desertion at Chattanooga, on the 15th instant, be suspended until further order, and forward record for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please forward the above. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 7, 1864.

GOVERNOR HALL, Jefferson City, Mo.:

Complaint is made to me of the doings of a man at Hannibal, Mo., by the name of Haywood, who, as I am told has charge of some militia force, and is not in the U. S. service. Please inquire into the matter and correct anything you may find amiss if in your power. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 8, 1864.

COLONEL FASLEIGH, Louisville, Ky.:

I am appealed to in behalf of a man by the name of Frank Fairbairns, said to have been for a long time, and still in prison, without any definite ground stated. How is it?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
December 8, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Commanding, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Let execution in case of John Berry and James Berry be suspended until further order. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Will you please hurry off the above? To-morrow is the day of execution.

JOHN HAY,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 14, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Va.:

Please have execution of John McNulty, alias Joseph Riley, Company E, Sixth New Hampshire Volunteers, suspended and record sent to me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 16, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Chattanooga, Tenn.:

It is said that Harry Walters, a private in the Anderson cavalry, is now and for a long time has been in prison at Chattanooga. Please report to me what is his condition, and for what he is imprisoned. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 20, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE, Baltimore, Md.:

Suspend execution of James P. Boilean until further order from here. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 22, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Saint Joseph, Mo.:

Postpone the execution of Higswell, Holland, and Way, for twenty days. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 22, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Indianapolis, Ind.:

Postpone the execution of John Doyle Lennan, alias Thomas Doyle, for ten days. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 28, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Nashville, Tenn.:

Suspend execution of James R. Mallory, for six weeks from Friday the 30th of this month, which time I have given his friends to make proof, if they can, upon certain points.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 29, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER:

There is a man in Company I, Eleventh Connecticut Volunteers, First Brigade, Third Division, Twenty-fourth Army Corps, at Chapin's Farm, Va., under the assumed name of William Stanley,

but whose real name is Frank R. Judd, and who is under arrest, and probably about to be tried for desertion. He is the son of our present minister to Prussia, who is a close personal friend of Senator Trumbull and myself. We are not willing for the boy to be shot, but we think it as well that his trial go regularly on, suspending execution until further order from me and reporting to me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 29, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Louisville, Ky.:

Suspend execution of death sentence of George S. Owen, until further orders, and forward record of trial for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. Yours,

JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 30, 1864.

COLONEL WARNER, Indianapolis, Ind.:

It is said that you were on the court martial that tried John Lennon, and that you are disposed to advise his being pardoned and sent to his regiment. If this be true, telegraph me to that effect at once. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 31, 1864.

COL. A. J. WARNER, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Suspend execution of John Lennon until further order from me and in the meantime send me the record of his trial.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 4, 1865.

JOHN WILLIAMS, Springfield, Ill.:

Let Trumbo's substitute be regularly mustered in, send me the evidence that it is done and I will then discharge Trumbo.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 6, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point:

If there is a man at City Point by the name of Waterman Thornton who is in trouble about desertion, please have his case briefly stated to me and do not let him be executed meantime.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 9, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Saint Joseph, Mo.:

Postpone the execution of the death sentence of Holland, Highsmith, and Utz, ten days longer unless you receive orders from me to the contrary. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 11, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Nashville, Tenn.:

Postpone the execution of S. W. Elliott, and C. E. Peacher, until the 3rd day of February, 1865. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 12, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Lexington, Ky.:

Suspend execution of sentence of death in case of Solomon Spiegel, Ninth Michigan Cavalry, until further orders and forward record of trial for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 12, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Va.:

If Henry Stork of Fifth Pennsylvania Cavalry, has been convicted of desertion, and is not yet executed, please stay till further order and send record. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 19, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL DODGE, Saint Louis, Mo.:

If Mrs. Beattie, alias Mrs. Wolff, shall be sentenced to death, notify me, and postpone execution till further order.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 19, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL ORD:

You have a man in arrest for desertion passing by the name of Stanley. William Stanley, I think, but whose real name is different. He is the son of so close a friend of mine that I must not let him be executed. Please let me know what is his present and prospective condition. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 20, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, New York:

Let W. N. Bilbo be discharged on his parole. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 20, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Va.:

If Thomas Samplogh, of the First Delaware Regiment has been sentenced to death, and is not yet executed, suspend and report the case to me. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 21, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE, Baltimore, Md.:

Two weeks or ten days ago, as I remember, I gave direction for Levin L. Waters to be either tried at once or discharged. If he has not been tried, nor a trial of him progressing in good faith discharge him at once. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 22, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE, Baltimore, Md.:

The case of Waters being as you state it, in your dispatch of today, of course the trial will proceed. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 23, 1865.

W. O. BARTLETT, ESQ., New York:

Please come and see me at once. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 24, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point:

If Newell W. Root, of First Connecticut Heavy Artillery, is under sentence of death please telegraph me briefly the circumstances. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 25, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Nashville, Tenn.:

Do not allow ——— Elliott, under sentence of death to be executed without further order from me, and if an exchange of him for Capt. S. T. Harris, now a prisoner, supposed to be at Columbia, S. C., can be effected, let it be done. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 25, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, City Point, Va.:

Having received the report in the case of Newell W. Root, I do not interfere further in the case. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 26, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Suspend execution of death sentence of William H. Jeffs, Company B, Fifty-sixth Massachusetts Volunteers, until further orders, and forward record of trial for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 26, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Suspend execution of Hamel Shaffer ordered to be shot at City Point to-morrow, until further orders and forward record of trial for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 27, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Stay execution in case of Barney Roorke, Fifteenth New York Engineers, until record can be examined here. A. LINCOLN.

Send above dispatch and oblige. JOHN HAY,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 27, 1865.

To the COMMANDING OFFICER at Nashville, Tenn.:

Let execution in case of Cornelius E. Peacher, be stayed until further orders. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 28, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL ORD, Army of the James:

Give me a brief report in case of Charles Love, Seventh New Hampshire, tried for desertion, and transmit record for my examination. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 30, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL ORD, Headquarters Army of the James:

By direction of the President you are instructed to inform the three gentlemen, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, that a messenger will be dispatched to them at or near where they now are, without unnecessary delay. EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

(This letter does appear in the Life by J. G. Nicolay and John Hay.)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 31, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE, Baltimore, Md.:

Suspend sending off of Charles E. Waters, until further order and send record if it has not already been sent.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 31, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE, Baltimore, Md.:

Your second dispatch in regard to Waters is received. The President's dispatch of this morning did not refer to Levin T. Waters, but to a man who it was represented had been convicted by a military commission of unlawful trade with the rebels or something of that kind, and was to be sent this morning to the Albany Penitentiary. His name was given as Charles E. Waters. If such prisoner is on his way North let him be brought back and held as directed in the President's dispatch.

JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 31, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Philadelphia, Pa.:

Suspend execution of death sentence of John Murphy, ordered for February 10, 1865, at Fort Mifflin, until further orders and forward record of trial for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please forward above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 1, 1865.

GENERAL SHEPLEY, Norfolk, Va.:

It is said that Henry W. Young, private in Sixty-third New York Volunteers, Company E, is in arrest for desertion. If he shall be tried and sentenced to any punishment, do not let sentence be executed until further order from me, meantime send me record of the trial. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 2, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Frankfort, Ky.:

Suspend execution of death sentence of W. E. Walker until further orders, and forward record of trial for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 4, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Nashville, Tenn.:

Suspend execution of death sentence of James R. Mallory, until further orders. A. LINCOLN.

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 6, 1865.

FREDERICK HASSAUREK, Cincinnati, Ohio:

A dispatch from General Grant says "Lieutenant Markbeit has been released from prison and is now on his way North."
A. LINCOLN.

To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, Headquarters Armies of the United States:

Suspend execution in case of Simon J. Schaffer, Fifteenth New York Engineers, until further orders, and send me the record.
A. LINCOLN.

Send above. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 7, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Davenport, Iowa:

Suspend execution of death sentence of John Davis, alias John Lewis, until further orders and forward record of trial for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 8, 1865.

MARK HOYT, ESQ., 28 Spruce Street, New York:

The President has received your dispatch asking an interview He cannot appoint any specific day or hour, but your delegation may come at their own convenience and he will see them as soon as he possibly can after their arrival. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 9, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL CADWALLADER, Philadelphia:

Please suspend execution in case of Thomas Adams, One hundred and eighty-sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers, and send record to me. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 9, 1865.

COMMANDING-GENERAL Sixth Army Corps:

Suspend the execution of the sentence of Private James L. Hycks, Sixty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers, until further orders. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

The President requests that you will send the above. The man was to have been executed on 10th instant.

ED. D. NEILL,
Secretary to President, United States, &c.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 9, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Suspend execution of death sentence of Hugh F. Riley, Eleventh Massachusetts Volunteers, now in front of Petersburg, until further orders, and forward record for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 9, 1865.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor of Massachusetts, Boston, Mass.:

The President has to-day sent a dispatch ordering that the execution of Hugh F. Riley, Eleventh Massachusetts Volunteers, be suspended until further orders and the record forwarded for examination. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 11, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL ORD, Army of James:

Suspend execution of sentence in case of Maj. T. C. Jameson and send me the record. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 11, 1865.

COL. P. B. HAWKINS, Frankfort, Ky.:

General Burbridge may discharge W. E. Waller, if he thinks fit.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 12, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Is it Lieut. Samuel B. Davis whose death sentence is commuted? If not done, let it be done. Is there not an associate of his also in trouble? Please answer. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 13, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERIDAN:

Suspend execution of sentence in case of James Lynch, alias Hennessy, until further orders and send record to me. Please acknowledge receipt of this. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 14, 1865.

To the Commanding Officer, Davenport, Iowa:

Suspend execution of death sentence of John C. Brown, alias William A. Craven, and of John Ble, alias Cohoe, until further orders and send records for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above dispatch. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 14, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERIDAN:

Suspend execution of death sentence of James Brown, fixed for the 17th instant at Harper's Ferry, until further orders, and forward record for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

WASHINGTON, February 15, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERIDAN:

Suspend execution in case of Luther T. Palmer, Fifth New York Artillery, for fourteen days and send record to me for examination. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 15, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHERIDAN:

Suspend execution of death sentence of William Randall, at Harper's Ferry, of Fifth New York Heavy Artillery, until further orders and forward record of trial for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 16, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Suspend execution of death sentence of George W. Brown, Company A, Fifteenth New York Engineers, now at City Point, until further orders and forward record for examination.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 16, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Suspend execution of death sentence of Charles Love, Seventh New Hampshire Volunteers, at City Point, until further orders and forward record for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 17, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Davenport, Iowa:

Suspend execution of death sentence of William A. Craven, for four weeks and forward record for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 17, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Harper's Ferry:

Chaplain Fitzgibbon yesterday sent me a dispatch invoking clemency for Jackson, Stewart and Randall, who are to be shot to-day. The dispatch is so vague that there is no means here of ascertaining whether or not the execution of sentence of one or more of them may not already have been ordered. If not suspend execution of sentence in their cases until further orders and forward records of trials for examination. A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 20, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Davenport, Iowa:

Suspend execution of Henry Cole, alias Henry Coho, until further order and send record. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 22, 1865.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Lexington, Ky.:

Send forthwith record of the trial of C. K. Johnson.
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 23, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Suspend execution of death sentence of George A. Maynard, Company A, Forty-sixth New York Veteran Volunteers, until further orders and forward record for examination.
A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Please send the above telegram. JNO. G. NICOLAY,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 24, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL POPE, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Please inquire and report to me whether there is any propriety of longer keeping in Gratiott Street Prison a man said to be there by the name of Riley Whiting. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 28, 1865.

COMMANDING OFFICER, Harper's Ferry, Va.:

Let the sentence in case of Luther T. Palmer be suspended till further order. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 6, 1865.

HON. DAVID TOD, Cleveland, Ohio:

I have yours about Grannis, and am compelled to say there is a complication in the way. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 9, 1865.

W. O. BARTLETT, Philadelphia (probably at Continental):

It will soon be too late if you are not here. A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1865.

HON. HENRY T. BLOW, Saint Louis, Mo.:

A Miss E. Snodgrass, who was banished from Saint Louis in May, 1863, wishes to take the oath and return home. What say you? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 16, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL ORD:

Suspend execution of Lieut. Henry A. Meck, of First U. S. Colored Cavalry, until further order from here. Answer.
A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 17, 1865.

COL. R. M. HOUGH AND OTHERS, Chicago, Ill.:

Yours received. The best I can do with it is to refer it to the War Department. The Rock Island case referred to, was my

individual enterprise, and it caused so much difficulty in so many ways that I promised to never undertake another.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May [March] 20, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL ORD, Army of the James:

Is it true that George W. Lane is detained at Norfolk without any charge against him? And if so why is it done?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 23, 1865.

GENERAL DODGE, Commanding, &c., Saint Louis, Mo.:

Allow Mrs. R. S. Ewell the benefit of my amnesty proclamation on her taking the oath. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
March 25, 1865. (Received 5 p. m.)

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

I am here within five miles of the scene of this morning's action. I have nothing to add to what General Meade reports except that I have seen the prisoners myself and they look like there might be the number he states—1,600. A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., March 26, 1865. (Received 11.30 a. m.)

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR:

I approve your Fort Sumter programme. Grant don't seem to know Yeatman very well, but thinks very well of him so far as he knows. Thinks it probable that Y. is here now, for the place. I told you this yesterday as well as that you should do as you think best about Mr. Whiting's resignation, but I suppose you did not receive the dispatch. I am on the boat and have no later war news than went to you last night. A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., March 30, 1865—7.30 p. m.
(Received 8.30 p. m.)

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR:

I begin to feel that I ought to be at home and yet I dislike to leave without seeing nearer to the end of General Grant's present movement. He has now been out since yesterday morning and although he has not been divested from his programme no considerable effort has yet been produced so far as we know here. Last night at 10.15 p. m. when it was dark as a rainy night with-

out a moon could be, a furious cannonade soon joined in by a heavy musketry fire opened near Petersburg and lasted about two hours. The sound was very distinct here as also were the flashes of the guns up the clouds. It seemed to me a great battle, but the older hands here scarcely noticed it and sure enough this morning it was found that very little had been done. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) CITY POINT, VA., April 1, 1865—5.30 p. m.
(Received 8.30 p. m.)

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

Dispatch just received showing that Sheridan, aided by Warren had at 2 p. m. pushed the enemy back so as to retake the five forks and bring his own headquarters up to I. Boisseans. The five forks were barricaded by the enemy and carried by Diven's division of cavalry. This part of the enemy seems to now be trying to work along the White Oak road to join the main force in front of Grant, while Sheridan and Warren are pressing them as closely as possible. A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., April 2, 1865.

MRS. LINCOLN:

At 4.30 p. m. to-day General Grant telegraphs that he has Petersburg completely enveloped from river below to river above, and has captured since he started last Wednesday, about 12,000 prisoners and 50 guns. He suggests that I shall go out and see him in the morning, which I think I will do. Tad and I are both well, and will be glad to see you and your party here at the time you name. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) CITY POINT, VA., April 3, 1865—5 p. m.
(Received 7 p. m.)

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

Yours received. Thanks for your caution, but I have already been to Petersburg, stayed with General Grant an hour and a half and returned here. It is certain now that Richmond is in our hands, and I think I will go there to-morrow. I will take care of myself. A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) CITY POINT, VA., April 4, 1865—8 a. m.
(Received 8.45 a. m.)

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

General Weitzel telegraphs from Richmond that of railroad stock he found there, 28 locomotives, 44 passenger and baggage cars, and 106 freight cars. At 3.30 this evening General Grant from Southerland Station, 10 miles from Petersburg toward Burkesville telegraphs as follows:

"General Sheridan picked up 1,200 prisoners to-day and from 300 to 500 more have been gathered by other troops. The majority of the arms that were left in the hands of the remnant of Lee's army are now scattered between Richmond and where his troops are. The country is also full of stragglers, the line of retreat marked with artillery, ammunition burned or charred wagons, caissons, ambulances, &c." A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., April 5, 1865. (Received 11:55 p. m.)

HON. SECRETARY OF STATE:

Yours of to-day received. I think there is no probability of my remaining here more than two days longer. If that is too long come down. I passed last night at Richmond and have just returned. A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., April 7, 1865—8.35 a. m.
(Received 10.30 a. m.)

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR:

At 11.15 p. m. yesterday at Burkesville Station, General Grant sends me the following from General Sheridan:

"April 6—11.15 p. m.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

"I have the honor to report that the enemy made a stand at the intersection of the Burks Station road with the road upon which they were retreating. I attacked them with two divisions of the Sixth Army Corps and routed them handsomely, making a connection with the cavalry I am still pressing on with both cavalry and infantry. Up to the present time we have captured Generals Ewell, Kershaw, Button, Corse, De Bare, and Custus Lee, several thousand prisoners, 14 pieces of artillery with caissons and a large number of wagons. If the thing is pressed I think Lee will surrender. "P. H. SHERIDAN,
"Major-General, Commanding."

A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, April 7, 1865—9 a. m.
(Received 10:30 a. m.)

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR:

The following further just received:

"BURKESVILLE, VA.

"A. LINCOLN:

"The following telegrams respectfully forwarded for your information: "U. S. GRANT,
"Lieutenant-General."

"SECOND ARMY CORPS, April 6—7.30 p. m.

"MAJ.-GEN. A. S. WEBB:

"Our last fight just before dark at Sailor's Creek gave us 2 guns, 3 flags, considerable numbers of prisoners, 200 wagons, 70 ambulances with mules and horses to about one-half the wagons and ambulances. There are between 30 and 50 wagons in addition abandoned and destroyed along the road, some battery wagons, forages, and limbers. I have already reported to you the capture of 1 gun, 2 flags and some prisoners, and the fact that the road for over 2 miles is strewed with tents, baggage, cooking utensils, some ammunition, some material of all kinds, the wagons across the approach to the bridges it will take some time to clear it. The enemy is in position on the heights beyond with artillery. The bridge partially destroyed and the approaches on other side are of soft bottom land. We cannot advance to-morrow in the same manner we have to-day. As soon as I get my troops up a little, we are considerably mixed, I might push a column down the road and deploy it but it is evident that I cannot follow rapidly during the night. "A. A. HUMPHREYS,

"Major-General."

A. LINCOLN.

HEAD QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
CITY POINT, April 7, 11 a. m., 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Gen. Sheridan says "If the thing is pressed I think that Lee will surrender." Let the *thing* be pressed. A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther of Chicago, Ill.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 11, 1865.

BRIG. GEN. G. H. GORDON, Norfolk, Va.:

Send to me at once a full statement as to the cause or causes for which, and by authority of what tribunal, George W. Lane, Charles Whitlock, Ezra Baker, J. M. Renshaw, and others are restrained of their liberty. Do this promptly and fully.

A. LINCOLN.

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